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MONOGRAPHIC SERIES-2

Savaras of Andhra Pradesh.

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TRIBAL CULTURAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING INSTITUTE
TRIBAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT
ANDHRA PRADESH
HYDERABAD
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SAVALAS OF ORIGINAL RESEARCH

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FOREWORD

INDIAN Social Anthropology still suffers from paucity of systematic ethnographic works, which has created a problem to build up an authentic structure of successive social developments and analyse India's history, culture and civilisation, in their true perspective. Some regard monographs as a facile account, as the authors of these are generally not in a position to do justice to all aspects of 'Tribal' culture, for their limitations. But for better study and to treat all aspects adequately, it requires a team of capable Social Scientists to conduct unbiased pastoral work and analyse the situations, who should, as a pre-condition, stay in the midst of such communities. Sri D.R.Pratap, Director, Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, with his fellow associates, is a solitary example of having done such sincere work. They studied the community of 'Savara' of Andhra Pradesh with exactness, confidence and better understanding. This will encourage others to follow their line.

The Savaras are a very ancient tribe, mentions of whom have been made in the Epic Literatures, indicating that they were in touch with the greater Indian traditions, from early days. Due to specific mention of the name of this tribe in these esteemed literatures,

they feel quite proud and claim a higher status than other tribes; and so, to raise their status, many other forest-dwelling communities are trying to be reckoned as 'Savara' now-a-days. This type of social mobility has accelerated the re-alignment of social and cultural boundaries in tribal India.

This particular monograph depicts in details about the origin of this tribe; its distribution; and socio-economic and cultural life. Earlier works have been duly mentioned and discussed in the context of the problems that have been studied. The writers have very carefully depicted the environmental condition of the tribe and their habitat, and nature of adjustments in varied situations. The linear settlement pattern is the distinctive character of the Savaras of Andhra Pradesh. Clinging to the traditional forest-economy on the one hand, and depending on improved agriculture on the other, are the oscillating forces of economy sustaining their society, the growth of which depended on the nature of their contact with the neighbouring people, in different conditions. Thus, they have adopted gradually market economy, and the common monetary system, leading to their gradual dependency on the greater socio-economic structure of the region on one side, and are undergoing change in material life, on the other, which are quite discernible from

this work. The authors did not miss to note the role of usurious moneylenders, who are ravaging the tribal life, in various ways. They have made some careful and pragmatic suggestions for the improvement of the economic condition of the Savaras, through Governmental Agencies and schemes. This aspect of the monograph is 'action-oriented'.

It is very remarkable that the authors studied the details of kinship structure very closely. They have not only collected some terms of address, but categorised them properly, and interpreted these with the functioning social system, as these have inter-twined with other aspects of life. It is obviously that this interpretation indicates changing behaviour patterns, and corresponding changes in terminology. This chapter is considered very exhaustive and thought-provoking. Details of marriage rules and prohibitions, and role and position of women in the society, have also been properly discussed, and scanned. Rituals connected with the life-cycle, marriage, birth and death, as have been described, are also very exhaustive and suggestive, which will help to trace the socio-cultural aspects of this tribe. In the field of magical, religious and festive life, the affinities have been pointed out, and others traits of culture to have been well-emphasised. It

contd...4./

has been carefully noted as to how the religious pantheon of the Savaras includes many local Hindu Gods and is respective, and how many householders have kept some photographs of these Gods, to remember them and seek their grace in times of their crisis. Even some Savaras go on pilgrimage to many famous Hindu Temples at Distant places.

The Kapu Savaras of the plains exhibit many traits of acculturation, than the jungle Savaras. Due to contact with other castes and tribes, they could not retain some of their pristine aspects of socio-religious and cultural traditions. Their traditional political organisation too has gone through a profound change, and new pattern of the power structure in the villages has emerged, making the tribe more conscious of their rights and privileges, and now they participate in every-day political life.

More than enough has probably been depicted, with a glossary in this particular monograph, with many admirable illustrations. The writers, in a very systematic way, have been able to fill up a part of the long gap in the ethnographic documentation of our country.

I personally feel privileged to be associated with this type of team-venture publication of the Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute of Andhra Pradesh Government, and having the honour to write this foreword.

Department of Anthropology,
University of Calcutta.
12-1-1974.

P.K.BHOWMICK.

A CONCEPTUAL FRAME WORK FOR A HOLISTIC STUDY

ON THE SAVARA

AS one goes through the Monograph, one would wonder whether the Savara are a single people. They are not; but again they are.

Ethno-sociology begins with the search for the unity of the opposites and for the contradictions in what apparently appears to be the same.

The Hindu epics like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata make a mention of the Savara. Ptolemy recorded the presence of Savara nomads in the hilly country around the sources of the Wain Ganga. Varaha-Mihir takes note of two types of Savara (1) Parna Savara, wearing vilva leaves round their waist; and (2) the Naked Savara. Several ancient monuments however suggest the presence of Savara rulers in different parts of the country almost at the same time. Risley makes a mention of the local traditions which suggest that the Soras (Savaras) were conquered and expelled from the Shahabad Plateau at about 500 A.D. by the Cheras.

"In one of his grants, Nandivarna, a Pallava king claimed to have released the Savara Chief Udayana at Nelvedi and captured his Peacock feathered banner.

~~Revenue~~ ^{REV.} Faulkes identified these Savaras with the Savaras of the Eastern Ghats". There are however differences of opinion on this point.

In the present monograph it has rightly been observed that the Savara "Seem to have lived in various stages of civilization" in various parts of the country. There is a point of view that Savara is the generic term for the different divisions of the Kol. It is significant that while the name of the Savara appears in ancient literature even before the Christian era, there is no mention of the tribes like the Munda, Santal or Birhor.

Today Savara, Sora or tribes whose names are phonetically more or less similar are found in different states of India, and they exhibit considerable differences in their cultural traits, social organisation, language and linguistic behaviour and political structure.

Thurston has divided the Savara into two broad categories. The Hill Savara and the Plain Savara. The Hill Savara have again been divided into five sub-groups, some of which are considered to be traditionally associated with specific crafts or industries. For instance the occupation of the Arsi, Asisi or Lambo Lanjiya is said to be weaving and agriculture; those of Luara or Muli, Kindal and Kumbi are blacksmithy, basket weaving and

pottery respectively. But there is also the generalised Jati Savara (Savara par excellence) or Malaiyah Savara. The plain Savara on their turn are divided into Kapu or Pallapu Savara, engaged in cultivation, and Sudho or pure Savara, who have adopted Oriya language and custom.

In the present monograph a list of twenty six endogamous divisions has been provided. Some of them do not have clear cut exogamous sub-divisions. Many of these twenty six names are however considered to be syhonymous, while the others are treated as independent ethnic entities.

Turning to Thurston's framework for ethno-sociological analysis, it is found that there is a bipolar model of grouping the ethnic entities included in the Savara constellation.

At one end of the pole is the Jati-Savara, the good Savara, who tend to approximate the ideal, typical primitive, as conceptualised by the Anthropologists. At the other end is the Sudho Savara, who are pure in terms of the Hindu Caste system.

This bi-polar model thus appears to be two faced also, one of which reflects the culture order of the tribe, the other the ritual order of the castes. When seen in the mirror of the first, Jati Savara are the

good Savara and the Sudho Savara are at the farthest end from the goal. When seen in the mirror of the other, the Sudho Savara are the pure ones and the Jati Savara are the most impure ones.

It is not clear whether at this moment the Sudho Savara accept the culture order with the Jati Savara at the centre and whether on the other hand the Jati Savara accept the ritual order of the caste system in which the Sudho Savara are the pioneers from among the Savara.

In case of mutual non-acceptance of one another as the model, the Savara tribal constellation can be considered to represent several discontinuous systems in space and time. At one extreme the Jati Savara may not accept the Sudho Savara at all; at the other extreme the Sudho Savara may consider the Jati Savara to be a social embryo buried in the capsule of time, without any relevance to the present. In between the two may be the intermediate groups who would perceive their kinship with the one at a particular moment and with the other at another, depending on the situational context.

The present study indirectly affirms the presence of the discontinuities in space and also as the discontinuous bridge role of the intermediate groups in time dimensions.

As already mentioned, the different Savara Tribes differ not only in level of technology (Shifting cultivation and settled agriculture) but also in economic pursuits (cultivation, blacksmithy, pottery and so on) and in respect of such basic institutions the presence or absence of clan organisation, recognition of marriage with sister's daughter.

The discontinuity is also dramatically brought out in the rationalisation of the negative orientation of the Jura Savara towards the Brahmin through the myth that Krishna, the God the Brahmin had stolen their daughter, in the face of the conscious striving of the Sudho Savara to adopt the Sanskritic life-style.

The urge for fudging the discontinuity is symbolised in the myth centering Viswanitra, who himself is the product of a system of hybridisation of cultures and ways of life. At the empirical level one can consider the roles of the various revivalistic movements on the one hand and reform movements on the other both of which have attempted from time to time to bring within their folds the various Savara groups in Andhra Pradesh and particularly Orissa. Even the Maxalite movement can be interpreted not only as a response to exogenous forces but also as an endogenous adaptive process.

The foregoing analytical appraisal, lends flesh and blood to the skeletal framework of the proposition that the Savara are a single people and are not a single people.

In Technical parlance the structure of the Savara ethnic constellation can be described as both segmental and hierarchical. The national platform of creating a democratic socialistic pattern of society. With the satisfaction of the minimum needs of the weakest of the weak, as the central concern, is a challenge to both segmentation and hierarchisation. Thus the Savara social situation is surcharged with unprecedented dynamic possibility. Among the other contributing factors mention may be made of two viz., History or believed in history and Ecology.

Many among the Savara elite, believe that they are the descendants of once flourishing Dravidian culture. They draw upon not only the oral traditions, but also ethnographic and archaeological sources. In the earlier phase the mythical history served as an instrument of social mobilisation in reverse. It helped to build a self-image of fallen gods who had eaten the dust, and who needed to dekritise their way of life, recover their place in the social pedestal. The basic orientation was that of elevation of position within the given

framework. Today the legendary history is a source of inspiration for challenging the order of the day, it is a time-bomb with explosive possibility. The Savara Kingdom is to be recovered not in the heaven, but on this earth. A deprivation complex enters into the marrow of the Savara culture. In the formation of the Savara personality type, it is further reinforced by some of the child rearing practices as described in this Monograph. For weaning the two year's old Savara child from suckling the mother's breast neem paste is applied. It is not clear whether there is any counterveiling mechanism by which this early trauma is neutralised.

The ecological approach to the social dynamics of the Savara is to take note of the multiple marginality of the Savara of Andhra Pradesh. Firstly Srikakulam district where the bulk of the Savara of Andhra Pradesh live, is itself at the periphery of the State political administrative structure. Secondly, the economy of Savaras is marginal to the agro-industrial-semi-feudal-semi-capitalistic-semi-socialistic-economic hybrid-economic mainstream of the country. Thirdly, the relatively small number of Savara of Andhra Pradesh, are marginal to the total Savara ethnic constellation.

In this context the task of the social mobilisation of the Savaras is a complex one. They are to overcome the pitfalls of all these marginalities in a single jump. This also makes the task of the mobilisation of the physical resources complex. The present study is a testimonial to the various directions in which the Savara have tried to exploit the natural resources. But even then the level of physical mobilisation remains a low one. It is not surprising that sometimes the Savara elite perceive the situation to be a hopeless one, and tend to depend on charismatic action to tear-off the bounds of the routine.

Clearly the task of today is to find a new meaning to the old situation, which will help to transform the old situation itself. In this search for new meaning, the present monograph will not make a small contribution. I am thankful to the Tribal Research Institute, Andhra Pradesh for bringing it out.

B.K.ROY BURMAN.

INTRODUCTION

HISTORY:

THE SAVARAS belong to a very ancient tribe. There is evidence to show that they had spread over the Indian sub-continent long before the immigration of the Aryans. Puranic, Archaeological and Historical evidences prove that they rose to great eminence in the political social and religious spheres and created a civilization of their own. They seem to have lived in various stages of civilization varying from nomadic tribe wandering in search of food with a bare cover of vilva leaves round their waist to a sedentary people occupying large territories ruled by their own rulers. The history of the country mentions certain Savara rulers and Army Chiefs who fought with the Aryans or Dravidian kings who invaded their territories. They were also mentioned in the Hindu epics like Ramayana and Mahabharata and were called Nishadas in Vedic Hymns.

It is believed that Savaras were one of the indigenous tribes of pre-historic India, adept in manufacturing painted pottery and even copper tools and weapons. Authorities on Indian Archaeology are of the opinion that "the bearers of the Nevasa-Nevadatoli culture as well as of the copper Hoard belong to indigenous tribes, such as Nishads, Pulindas, Savaras, some of whom though now quite primitive might have made 3000-4000 years ago beautiful painted pottery and even copper tools and weapons". Still others who believe in the independent evolution of cultures would argue that the different cultures which archaeological excavations have brought to light during the last ten years in various parts of India show that when the great Indus civilization was flourishing in Sind, Saurashtra and the Punjab, the rest of India gave birth to various regional cultures. The authors of these cultures might have been the ancestors, as has been suggested by Prof. Hainendorf, "of some of primitive or aboriginal tribes now confined to the forests and hills of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar and Andhra like the Gonds, Baigas of Bastar or the Oraons and Savaras of Chota Nagpur or the Chenchus of Kurnool".

* Sankalia, H.D. Prehistory and proto history in India and Pakistan, University of Bombay-1952-PP.225.

** Ibid pp.269 - Presidential Address, Proceedings of the 37th Indian Science Congress Part II, pp-176.

2. The Savaras were the first tribal groups mentioned in the Hindu epics like the Ramayana and the Maha Bharatha. Sri Rama, during his wanderings in search of Sita, is said to have met an Aryanised Savara woman by name Sabari near Panchasara lake and ate the fruit offered by her. "This locality is taken to be a portion of the modern Chhattisgarh in the neighbourhood of the upper stream of Mahanadi. Kosala or Dakshina Kosala became the name of the whole of the Chattisgarh tract"***. They were referred to as 'terrible Savaras' and were also mentioned among the Sakas and the Kambojas conquered by the Krishna's charioteer in the Mahabharatha.****

3. They were considered to be the descendants of sage Viswanitra, who lived round about 800 BC. Max Muller assigns this period to the writings of Brahmins.***** During the period of Mahabharata, Sahitya Darpana mentioned that the Sabari and Ahir dialects were spoken by the leaf-gathering and wood-cutting people, the Sabaras. The Kashi-Khand of Skand Purana referred to the Savaras as nomadic wood-cutters of the jungles and described them as Vindhya-naulikas - the aborigines of the Vindhya mountains - the hills and forests of the present Madhya Pradesh State@.

*** The Q.J.M.S. G.V.Sitapati, p.p.8
**** K.C.Dubey, the Saours of Sagar District of M.P. Vanyajati Col.XXII., No.1, January 1964 pp.7.
***** Ibid, (K.C.Dubey, The Saours of Sagar Dist, M.P. Vanyajati) Vol.XXII, No.1, January,1964 pp.7
@ Ibid.

4. The Savaras inhabited different regions separated by long distances and had their independent development which varied in several respects because of various types of geographical and racial influences. While fixing the location of Savara country during the Puranic period, Anarnath Das compares three lists of countries mentioned in three different Puranas. The Vanana Purana gave the details of the names of the Southern countries in the following order: Kalinga, Abhira, Vaisaka, Savara, Aranya, Vindhya, Vidarbha etc., similarly Yoga Vasistha. Ramayana mentions the following order: Kalinga, Pundra, Jathara, Vidarbha, Mekala, Savaranana, Savaravarna, Karna etc. Again in Vayu and Markandeya Puranas, the order is Kalinga, Abhira, Saivesika, Atavya, Vara, Pulinda, Vindyanulika, Vaidarbha etc. By comparing these three lists he concludes that @@"the country of Savara, or Savara-varna came next to the Aranya or Atavya country and that this latter extended upto the Vindhyas. This enables us to fix the Aranya or Arournoi country as extending from the area of Savara country watered by the Sabari river, to the base of the Vindhyas, where are the Vindhya-Mulika countries or Bedia nai of Ptolemy".

5. In olden days the Savara country was every extensive, spreading on either side of the Vindhyas - upto the Ganges in the north and the Godavari in the south. They were further found to have inhabited the country as far south as the Pennar river and also along the valleys of the Krishna river. In course of time, unable to withstand the onslaught of the Aryans, they fled to the hills and forests away from the abode of the Aryans. Such a trekking took place along a more inland route north-west of Ganjam, when the Aryans were advancing eastward and southward from northern India*. They settled down all along the basin of the Vamsadhara river and the plains of the present Srikakulam District. They faced another invasion from the east by the Hindus of the plains of the Srikakulam district and were driven to the hills and forests.

6. Traces of Savara habitation in the plains of Srikakulam district and around Srikakulam are discernable from certain village names of that area and from the drawing on the wall of the Siva temple at Mukhalingam, 39 miles from Srikakulam. Aldu is a village 5 miles from Tirlaru railway station on the Howrah-Madras line and the name is derived from the Savara word 'Al-dub' literally meaning 'splitting of broomstick'. Previously when

*G.V.Sitapati and Miss M.C.Munro, Vizagapatnam Dist. Gazetteer.

there were boarder disputes between the Savaras and the Telugus, it was customary on such occasions for both the parties to hold a broomstick in their hands and break it. Hence the name for the place. On the interior of the wall of the entrance gate of the Siva Temple at Sri Mukhalingam (Mukhlingam) is a carved out figure of a Savara cutting a Mahua tree from which sprang up an idol of Siva.

7. Archaeological evidence indicates that the Savaras have been inhabiting the areas as far south as Palakonda and Srikakulam in the Srikakulam District. An inscription in Srikakulam temple indicates that the Savaras once raided it. According to the Korni copper plates, 'Kamarnava' the founder of the Kalinga dynasty defeated and killed, at Dantavura (near Srikakulam) Sabaraditya the previous ruler of the locality, an event which by calculation may be assigned to 720 A.D.*.

8. Several ancient monuments in the Shahabad district put down the Savaras as to their habitation of that area and also having been driven southwards by the inroads of the Rajputs under the Bhojpur chief. Thus came to an end the Savaras' rule of that country and hence their migration to the South. According to Sir Risely the local tradition also describes the Soras as being conquered and expelled from the Shahabad plateau at about 500 A.D. by the Cheras**.

* Q.J.M.S. G.V.Sitapati, pp.10

** Ibid pp 4

9. An inscription in Bhelsa (Vidisha) of 1000 A.D. recorded Kaundinya Vachaspati, the minister of king Raja Krishna, having defeated the Chedis after killing Simha, a Savara. Professor Hall considers him to be the commander-in-Chief of the Chedi army.*

10. In one of his grants, Nandivarma, a Pallava king, claimed to have released the Sabara Chief Udayana at Nelvedi and captured his peacock feathered banner. Rev. Foulkes** identifies these Sabaras with the Savaras of the Eastern Ghats. Dr. E. Hultzsch differed from Rev. Foulkes and opined that they could not be one and the same. But the findings of Mr. Mujumdar who edited the Sonar plates confirmed the contention of Rev. Foulkes as correct.

11. The Savaras were mentioned in the historical accounts as early as the first century A.D. Pliny, the noted historian mentioned the Suari as inhabiting the 'interior behind palibothri'. Ptolemy recorded the presence of Sabara nomads occupying the hilly country about the sources of Wain Ganga. According to Cunningham the Savara country extended as far south as the Pennar river. The Savaras of these areas were assimilated with the general population and had lost their identity as a distinct community. This is supported by the inference

* K.C. Dubey, Vanyajati, Vol. XII No. 1 pp. 7

** South Indian Inscriptions - II, Part-III, 1895.

drawn by the Somatist Van Ichestot~~it~~ that some of the Somatic characters of the Savaras were found in the Scheduled Castè population of these areas, especially around Vijayawada. Cunningham mentioned them as having occupied the valleys of river Krishna. According to Cunningham the Suaras or Suars of the Eastern Ghats are only single branch of the widely extended tribe which is found in large numbers to the south west of Gwalior and Marwar and also in southern Rajputana. The Savaras or Saharias of the Gwalior territory occupy the jungles or the Kota frontier to the westward of Marwar and Guna. They are found along the course of the Chambal river and its branches where they met the Rajaputana Surr~~ra~~s of Tod. As kirata means a man of mixed race or barbarian, it is possible that the name Kirata Suvarna may be the original appellation of the barbarian Suvaras or Suars*.

12. The Savaras were referred to as the speakers of 'Bibhasa' (dialect) and charcoal burners in the Natyasastra of Bharata of the sixth century A.D. and this occupation is with the Savaras of Sambalpur**. They were also mentioned by Banabhatta in his Harshacharitra as guides to

* Ancient Geography of India by Gen. Cunningham.

** B.C.Muzumdar, the Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India, Calcutta University, 1927 pp 12 & 13

Harshavardhana in his searches of Rajyashri in the Vindhya mountains. Varahamihira mentioned two types of Savaras: 1. Parna Sabaras and 2. The Naked Sabaras - the Sabaras who learnt wearing vilva-leaves round their waist and the Sabaras who simply wandered naked.

16. Accounts of the Savaras were given by the poet, Kavi Vakpati in his poem Garuda Vaho and Dandin and Banabhatta in their stories in the 7th Century A.D.* They were described as barbarians, or 'milchha' by Amar Singh in the period between 500-600 A.D. It is mentioned in the Saluvabhyudaya that Saluva Narasimha of the 15th Century defeated two Sabara chiefs, the dependents of Bhinduray.

14. Today, the Savaras, are found to inhabit different states of the Indian union and exhibit different cultural, social political and linguistic patterns. They have been found to possess distinctly varied ethnic characteristics. According to the Census of India the total number of Savaras in 1911 was 600,000. Thus they are one of the most populous tribes of the country. Of them the Bundel-Khand districts of United Province contained 100,000, the Chattisgarh districts, Saugar and Damoh of the erstwhile Central Provinces 70,000 and the remainder were the inhabitants of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh States.

* B.C.Muzumdar, The Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India, University of Calcutta, 1927.

The present Orissa State contains more than half of the total population of the Savaras. There are 3,11,614 Savaras in Orissa and they are distributed in the 13 districts of the State. Ganjam district is the most populous of all with 96,128 followed by Sambalpur (82,595) Koraput (36,329), Bolangir (31,071) and Puri (26,188) districts. Cuttack and Damoh districts contained 12,549 and 12,365 respectively and the Keojeer district 8,410 Savaras. The other districts Kalahandi, Bodh-Kandmal, Sunder^{gaon}~~gaon~~ and Mayur Bhanik contained a thousand each. The Saugar, Damoh, Tikamgarh, Datia, Satna, Sidhi, Shahdol, Panna and Chattapur districts of Mandhya Pradesh are populated by the Savaras. The Saugar district alone returned 46,255 Savaras in 1931.

The Savaras, according to 1961 Census, are 68,185 strong in Andhra Pradesh and account for about 5.14% of the total tribal population of the State. They occupy a contiguous belt in the Srikakulam district, bordering the Orissa State. More than 98% of them inhabit this district alone. West Godavari comes next with 466, followed by Visakhapatnam with 262, East Godavari district with 178, Guntur district with 130 and Nellore and Chittoor districts with 6 persons each. Out of the total tribal population of 1,92,276 in Srikakulam district, the Savaras Jatapur, Konda Doras, Khonds and Gadabas account for 35.43%, 32.6%, 16.76%, 3.11% and 6.6% respectively.

The Savaras are thus, found to live amidst four other major tribal groups in this district. The distribution of the Savaras in Srikakulam district is shown in the following table:

Sl. No.	Name of the Taluk.	Population of Savaras	S.T. Population of Taluk	Total population of Taluk	% of S.T. of Taluk.	Savaras total population of Tq.
1.	Srikakulam (Proper)	259	501	217993	51.7	0.23
2.	Parvathipuram	12851	62131	218471	20.68	28.44
3.	Palakonda	11088	26316	344646	42.13	8.11
4.	Pathapatnam	31613	39161	226674	80.72	17.82
5.	Tekkali	5279	5541	189984	95.27	2.92
6.	Sompeta	6040	6613	140941	91.32	4.69

From the above table it is clear that the Savaras are inhabiting the border areas of the district in the close neighbourhood of Orissa in a continuous strip. More than 47% of them are found in the Pathapatnam Taluk alone. In all the other 5 taluks they are the most numerous of the tribal people in the respective taluks. Sompeta and Tekkali taluks show as much as 91.32% and 95.27% of the Savaras to the total tribal population of the respective taluks. The density of the Scheduled Tribes population of the district is the highest in the State with 49 persons per Sq.Mile, the state average for Scheduled Tribes being 12 persons/Sq.mile. The rate of literacy among the

Savaras is as low as 6.6% and literacy among women is also very poor. There are only 136 literate women in a total of 4,508 Savara literates.

LANGUAGE:

They speak Savara language which belongs to the Kol Munda group of Austro-Asiatic family of languages. They are generally bilingual. Those in the plains lost touch with the original language and speak Telugu only.

ETYMOLOGY OF THE NAME 'SAVARA':

The name of the Savaras in one form or the other appeared in the literary works of the ancient times long before the Christian era while no mention was made of the other tribal groups like the Mundari, Santhali or Birhor*. Most of the scholars feel that the name Savara was the generic term for all the different divisions of the Kols. Mr.B.C.Majumdar supports this view by saying 'all the Kolarians are but branches of the Sabara people'**. Rao Bahadur S.C.Roy is also of the same opinion.*** But Rev.Hoffman proposes to replace the Savara by Santhals to cover all the Kol groups on the ground that "the Santhals are by far the numerically superior tribe still extant and because it may well be this name which under the form of Savara occurs continually in early Sanskrit literature to denote the aborigines of Northern India".****. But

* Q.J.M.S. G.V.Sitapati, p.p.10

**The Aborigines of the High Lands of Central India pp.13

*** Mundas pp.52

**** Ency.Mundarica, pp.1815

Rao Saheb G.V.Ramamurthy and his son Dr.Sithapati proposed that 'Sora' (or 'Savara' to use the time honoured spelling) is the most appropriate word to be used as the generic appellation to denote all the pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian tribes of India which have been now known as Kolarian or "Kol-Munda". Dr.Sitapathi continues to say 'from the linguistic stand point also the word 'Sabaras' has the best claim for it, because Sabari, the language of Sabaras and not the Mundari or Santhali or any other name was mentioned among the languages of India, of course, indiscriminately grouped under Prakrit*. This seems to be more probable as it is the Savara language that has prescribed the structure of the original language much better than any other kindred language of this ancient tribe. Along with common factors the various dialects of these primitive tribals were influenced by the other languages of the neighbouring people and this accounts for different names, ethnic or linguistic, such as Santhali, Mundari etc.

General Cunningham derived the name Savara from the Scythian word 'Sagar' meaning an axe; the 'g' having been replaced by 'v' as the two letters are interchangeable in the Savara language. This is disputed by Mr.Crooke who says that 'the word Savara' if it be, as some believe, derived from Sava, a corpse, comes from the root 'Sav'

* Q.J.M.S. pp.10

'cause to decay' and need not necessarily therefore be of non-Aryan origin while on the other hand no distinctive inference can be drawn from the use of the axe by the Savaras, when it is equally used by various other Dravidian jungle tribes as the Korwas, the Bhuiyas and the like.*-

This classical name 'Savara' has become corrupt in the different linguistic regions inhabited by the Savaras. In Orissa State, 'v' is changed into 'b' and Savaras become Sabara. In Bundelkhandi dialect, 'ava' has changed into 'au' and with the interpolation of a nasal became 'Saunr' or 'Saonr'.

According to Dr. Sitapati the word So:r (of Kharia, Ko:r, Mundari, hero, hor, hur, ur (as in miur = one man; Santhali, Kor, Kur; Birhor, Hor; Vedda, hur, Malay; ura; o : n Urag, Ora:o) is really meant man. The principal part of these words is 'O:r' which means man. Quite in the beginning there were no names given to any people. Names were required for the use of or recognition of the other people. The first name of any person, of of any tribe or country denoted 'man' as different from any other animal. To distinguish a man of one part of tribe from those of other parts an addition to the man was required. The particles either prefixed or suffixed

* Crookes: Tribes and Castes of N.W.P. art. Savara

added to the word meaning 'man' have some significance which at this distance of time is impossible to discern. So the word So:r meant only 'man' of 's', whatever be the significance of the letter 's', Dr. Sitapati's arguments seem to be rational when viewed critically. It is not always necessary that the name of a community should imply a distinctive meaning.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE:

The Savaras are generally of medium height, ranging between 5' and 5' 5". Men of 6' height are often found. Their skin colour varies from light yellow to dark brown. Dark complexion is also found. Hair is generally wavy. It is usually thick on the head and scanty on the beard, and other parts of the body. The moustache is sparse. Faces are small and heart-shaped with prominent cheeks. Two types of noses are common - straight and narrow at the bridge, and the other flat and broad with round nostrils. Many middle aged women and children have potbellies. The spleen index is rather high on account of constant Malarial fevers.

DRESS:

It is mentioned that the Savaras moved about naked in the past. Later on they learnt wearing a cover of vilva-leaves round their loins to protect their private parts from the stings of the poisonous insects rather than for decency. Afterwards they learnt how to tie a cloth in place of the leaves. The women never used any upper garment. Even now their dress is very simple and most of them do not wear an upper garment. The men usually wear a small dhoti round their loins and it is always above the knees. Those who do not have a dhoti (dukandi) or can not afford to have one, tie a small piece of cloth round their waist passing it in between their legs and fix it behind the back in the waist band. This is called 'Gochi'. They also generally wear a turban (rabana) either of red or of white colour cloth. They do not put on any upper garment. Only when they visit the weekly shandies or their relatives houses, the men put on a shirt or a banian (Sangi). Women generally tie a cloth of 10 to 12 feet in length and 4 feet in width round their waists. The width is halved by folding it lengthwise. The 12 feet long piece is taken round and round the waist and since it is folded lengthwise it lies above the knees only. When a visitor comes to their village they unfold one or two rounds of this garment and cover the breasts by taking it across the shoulder. This garment is called 'Jijeenam'. Underneath

it they wear a small piece of cloth known as 'Gochi' or 'Thunka'. They do not wear any special dress on ceremonial occasions. Some of the women folk cut the cloth into two pieces. One piece is tied round the waist and another piece is taken under the armpit and the two ends are tied on the shoulder, so as to cover the breasts.

Men and women keep their hair neatly combed with thin 'Kagu' or Mahua Oil. Both men and women keep their hair in a knot (rerede) on the occiput. But the Savara men of the plains are having their hair cut in the fashion of the plains people. Women generally tuck bright coloured red and yellow flowers in the 'rerede' and the ears.

They do not have many costly ornaments. The women usually wear a silver necklace (Paggoda), nose ring (Sesaike) and ear-rings (Kadupi). They may be made of either silver or gold. They also wear a number of bead necklaces (bubbooda) and plastic bangles (Kokonda). Some of them may wear silver bangles (Kaddu) silver anklets (andodakka), toe-rings (Muddi-jung) silver or golden rings (Engchi) and nose-pins (Mara). Some men wear nose-rings and necklaces. The girls wear ornaments similar to those of the women.

Savaras are comparatively clean and tidy. Though bath is not a regular feature with them, they take the opportunity to wash themselves in the streams on their way to and back from the fields or the forest or the shandy. The womenfolk and the children take their bath in the streams when they go for fetching water. That is why whenever an outsider accompanies a Savara and if they were to cross a stream (near a village), the Savara whistles or makes some sort of noise as a signal to the women taking bath. To clean their clothes they boil the clothes in water with charcoal ashes and wash them. They take bath for two reasons as a means of purification of their physical contact with other caste or tribal groups and to get rid of the evil spirits they may be carrying. They believe that by taking the bath, they would be bereft of the evil spirits.

CHARACTER: Eicksdt found them 'reserved', refractory and obstinate (Heart-racking) and the Konds cheerful, mobile, friendly and self-possessed! The Kond is open, the Savara closed!* Eicksdt's assessment of the Savara personality is true to the last word. It is really so in the case of a person visiting them for the first time. They do not answer the questions plainly. They hesitate to reveal their names and the names of their villages. When a visitor enters a Savara village none comes out of their

* Census of India, 1931: Vol.I, Part-III.E(Ethnography)

dwellings. It takes a long time for a field worker to convince these people and establish rapport with them; and once that is done, they feel happy in his company. They spend long hours talking about their customs and enquiring about others ways of life. They are generous and hospitable. One should be careful when dealing with the Savara women. Neither women nor men will tolerate any one misbehaving with the womenfolk. They feel very delighted when the visitor pronounces some words of their language and talks about their customs. This takes the field workers closer to these people and his job becomes easier.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY:

This is one of the important studies conducted on a tribe which has rich historical and cultural background. Its distribution in many parts of the country and the abundant anthropological literature already compiled on the tribe makes it all the more difficult to compare the life of the Savaras of Andhra Pradesh with that of other regions and critically examine the studies already available on the tribe in the light of the present investigations. The present study is only intended for presenting the basic features of various facets of Savara life and culture and thus fill the gap in the existing ethnographic data available on Savaras as no comprehensive monograph was

attempted so far on the Savaras of Andhra Pradesh. However, an attempt has been made to refer as many books as possible and present a comparative situation of the Savara life in Andhra Pradesh as revealed in the present study. But the vast distribution of the tribe in other states and the variations in socio-cultural and economic matrix of the tribe, both outside and inside Andhra Pradesh, make the study complex and whatever may be time and energies expended on the study, still there may be certain areas left uncovered. Moreover, while the study was under progress certain politico-economic situations have arisen and this resulted in throwing the tribe in the throes of an upheaval popularly known as Naxalite movement of Srikakulam district necessitating separate study on the socio-political and economic factors responsible for the movement. Consequently the study entitled "Tribal Tensions in Andhra Pradesh", with special reference to Srikakulam district was conducted. Similarly, another study entitled "Elected Leadership versus Traditional Leadership" was also conducted and both the studies are in the final draft stage. As these two studies cover the factors of unrest and impact of Panchayat Raj on Savara life respectively, the present monograph did not attempt to cover these two aspects. However the basic traditional political structure of the tribe was discussed. Similarly

the chapter on language and folklore also presents the broad characteristics of Savara language and folklore as these two aspects of Savara life were already studied in depth by eminent scholars like Sri Gidugu Ramamoorthy Panthulu and his illustrious son Dr.G.V.Seethapathi.

ENVIRONMENT AND HABITAT

THE habitat of the Savaras in Andhra Pradesh is mostly confined to the peculiarly developed zig-zag hill ranges of the great line of Eastern Ghats in Srikakulam district. A sizeable number of Savaras have spilled over to the adjacent low country as they could successfully adopt the settled plough cultivation, a characteristic feature of the livelihood patterns of the more advanced plains neighbours, of Pethapatnam, Parvathipuram and Palakonda taluks. The typically formed forest clad hill ranges of the region reach varying heights from 1000' m.s.l. to 5000 m.s.l. The low hills in Parvathipur taluk with steep and rugged lines, devoid of plateaus hedge into the two broad and almost parallel valleys of Vamsadhara and Nagavalli rivers. This part of the Savara country is shut off from the cool sea breeze of Bay of Bengal by these low hill ranges. Palakonda taluk consists, for the most part, of rather fertile wet lands fed by the waters of Dargulya (Nagavalli in the upper reaches) and its tributaries Vottigodda, Suvarna Mukhi and Vegavati. The rest of the taluk mainly consists an undulating expanse of fertile soil, picturesquely diversified by numerous

hillocks and red and black hills, sometimes clothed with the stunted and shrub jungle growth, forming a section of the great line of the Eastern Ghats. Largest number of Savaras of Srikakulam district are concentrated in Pathapatnam Taluk and the distinctive feature of this taluk is the extensive hilly tracts with the river Vamsadhara constituting the natural boundary between Pathapatnam main taluk and Hiramandalam Sub Taluk as it flows between these two administrative units of Pathapatnam Taluk. Vamsadhara and Mahendra Tanaya which originate in the Eastern Ghats of Orissa State are the most important rivers of the Taluk. Broad valleys with fertile soils and narrow valleys and deep ravines cradling many a hill stream and river affording ample irrigation facilities are a characteristic feature of the hilly terrain. Some of the important valleys of the region are:

1. Udaya puram valley
2. Lakshmi puram valley
3. Pedakarja valley
4. Pedagottila valley
5. Kedari puram valley
6. Mandagedda valley near Vanjarapuguda
7. Karengedda valley
8. Kambagedda valley

The tropical climate of the District varies from one region to another with humid atmosphere in the coastal taluks, extreme seasonal variations and temperature ranging

from 43^oC to 13.80 C. Summer is hot and winter very cold in many of the taluks except Ichapuram, Sompeta and Srikakulam where the climate is moderate.

The heavy and incessant rains of the south west monsoon and the north-east monsoon lash the Eastern Ghats of the region feeding waters to innumerable fast flowing hillstreams, rivers and rivulets. The normal annual rainfall being 1086 mm* about 2/3rd of the rainfall is received from the south-west monsoon (June to September) and the rest from the north-east monsoon (October to December).

While the hill streams are seasonal, almost all the rivers are perennial, irrigating the terrace fields of tribals and then draining into the Bay of Bengal.

The important rivers that flow down from the hills in the district are Nagavalli, Vamsadhara, Suvarnamukhi, Vegavathi, Mahendratany, Gomukhi, Champavathi, Bahuda and Kumbikotagedda. The Nagavalli, called Langulya in its lower reaches is a perennial stream originating in the Eastern Ghats in Orissa State among the steep hills of Rayagada. Local legend attributes the formation of the river to the furrow made by Balarama's plough. Hence the names Nagavalli and Langulya which are derived from the word 'Nagali' meaning 'Plough'. The river enters the

* District Census Hand Book, Srikakulam District 1961.

district in Parvathipuram Taluk, flows nearly due south, past Rayagada to within six miles east of Parvathipuram and after flowing through Palakonda taluk turns slightly eastwards, forming the boundary between Srikakulam and Cheepurpalle taluks and enters the Bay at Mahfaz Bandar. The Vamsadhara, so called from the bamboo (Vamsa) which fringes its banks, rises in the Eastern Ghats in Orissa State and enters the district in Pathapatnam taluk and flows between Narsannapet and Srikakulam taluks before finally falling into the Bay of Bengal. The Suvarnamukhi river which also originates in the Eastern Ghats crosses into the District in the North-Western part of Salur taluk and after cutting across Salur and Bobbili taluks joins Nagavalli at Sangam (Confluence) village in Palakonda taluk. Vegavathi river rises in the Pachipenta hill ranges of Salur taluk, flows in the east-west direction and joins Suvarnamukhi at Paturvardhanam village of Bobbili taluk. Gomukhi is another tributary of Suvarnamukhi which joins Suvarnamukhi at Sirilan village after flowing across Salur taluk. Mahendratanya, a tributary of Vamsadhara rises in Eastern Ghats and after flowing through Sompeta and Pathapatnam taluks joins Vamsadhara river at Komanapalli village in Pathapatnam taluk. River Bahuda starts in Eastern Ghats in Orissa, crosses the District boundaries at Saranam village of Ichapuram independent sub-taluk and after wending its way across this taluk falls into the Bay of Bengal.

A large portion of the fertile soils of the plains country, the terrace fields and the flat patches of Savara country in Palakonda, Parvathipuram and Srikakulam taluks are mostly irrigated by the fast running waters of seasonal hill streams and the ever flowing waters of Nagavalli and its net work of tributaries. Similarly Vamsadhara irrigates large tracts of land in Pathapatnam and Srikakulam taluks whereas Bahuda river provides irrigation facilities to large chunks of land in Ichapuram independent Sub-Taluk.

The soils of the District can be mainly classified into regar or black-cotton and red feruginous. The black soil occurs chiefly in the alluvial valleys of the streams and rivers with tendency to crack on drying and in the high lands of hills where most of the tribals live, the red varieties are predominant. These varieties are further subdivided into clays, loams and sands. In general about three-fourth of the soils consist of red soils and nearly one fourth of the richer black variety earths. Loams, the most fertile of soils suitable for wet crops are also not uncommon. Valuable food crops such as paddy, ragi, bajra and other cereals are cultivated mainly in black loams. In black clay, jowar and redgram are generally raised. Gingully, ragi, bajra, jowar, horsegram and greengram are grown extensively in mud loams. Paddy and sugarcane are also raised in these soils to a limited

extent. Pulses, groundnuts, sweet potatoes and chillies are grown in sandy soils.

In the Savana country the hill peaks and slopes are covered with loose talus of the different gneisses, especially weathered Khondalites. Below the talus occurs a thin and gritty red soil cover which is fertile and promotes the growth of good forests and crops. The narrow valleys and low lying areas are also covered with this brown ferruginous soil (red) and support good vegetation. But the red soils are deficient in humus, lime, magnesia, alkalites, nitrogen and phosphorus*.

The geognostic account of Geological Survey of India, Andhra Pradesh circle shows that the rugged hills, a characteristic feature of the Northern and Western parts of the District are constituted of alluvium and soils, laterite, permatite and quartz veins, granitic rocks - granitic gneisses, porphyritic granitic gneisses and massive granites, charnokitic series - basic, intermediate and acid types, and Khondalite series - Garnet-sillimanite-gneisses, garnetiferous, quartzites, calogrammites and gneisses which are in various stages of weathering and mostly covered by thick forests. These rocks belong to Archaean ages and had been intruded into the highly folded and metamorphosed sedimentary rocks represented

* District Census Hand Book, Srikakulam District 1961.

Cleistanthus collinus (Kodisa), Adina Cardifolia (Bandaru) etc. with an undergrowth of Cleistanthus collinus (Kodisa) Ixora parviflora (Goruvi), Phyllanthus emblica (Usuri) Grivia Latifolia (Tada) and other inferior varieties. Pole forests are met with in Chinnagora and portions of Burnakonda reserves of Palkonda ranges. High upon the hills are found the trees like Bassia Latifolia ('Ippa') and its white fleshy flowers produce sugar when dried and spirit when distilled thus providing the much cherished 'cup of joy' for the tribals.

The Savara country is also famous for its wild life which the Savaras hunt throughout the year to supplement their predominantly cereal diet. Big game is varied and plentiful, but it is almost confined to wilderness of the agency. The hills and forests of the country are the natural habitat of wild buffalo, bison (gaur) spotted swamp, raving barking deer, sambhur, nilghai, four horned antelope, bear, leopard and tiger. Many of the hill tribes regard the flesh of wild pig in high esteem as an aphrodisiac. The bears which are a scourge to the inhabitants of wild settlements as they are notorious for their unprovoked mauling of the unfortunate passers by, are very fond of mahuva flowers and often get extremely drunk upon eating them. The best small game are the peafowls, common all over the hills and the Savaras catch them by chasing from side to side of steep

and narrow valleys until they are exhausted. Of the rarer game birds the imperial pigeon is not uncommon and a brown pigeon with a white head is seen now and again.

It is in these idyllic valleys and hill slopes that the Savaras construct their settlements. Hence an account of the topography of the Savara^{country} naturally leads to a description of the human ecology of the Savara country.

SETTLEMENTS:

The environment, generally, sets limits on what a community can utilize for the three basic needs of human beings - food, clothing and shelter. Thus dwelling styles have some relation to the environment and at the same time different societies may react in different ways to the same situation due to diverse cultural practices. The housing pattern of the Savaras and their neighbouring tribal groups like the Jatapus, Konda Doras and Gadabas inhabiting the agency and the adjoining plain areas of the Srikakulam district, is of the linear type. But the tribal groups like the Pagatas, Kotiya, Valmikies and Nuka Doras inhabiting the agency tract of the Visakhapatnam district, live in independent individual houses, though the environmental conditions are identical. The preference for community theme rather than amenity theme seems to

have moulded the residential patterns of the Savaras and other ethnic groups of Srikakulam district. Generally, the tribal villages in the Visakhapatnam agency are multi-ethnic in composition whereas the villages in Srikakulam district are exclusively inhabited by a single tribe. Even in Visakhapatnam agency, the Khonds, usually live in exclusive settlements of their own and their dwelling pattern is of linear type. The Hopi Indians and the Navahos - two American Indian tribes are excellent examples of constructing different types of dwellings in spite of their living in an identical environment. The former live in rectangular dwellings made of stone and abode, traditionally clustered into communal 'peublos', whereas the latter live in individual 'Hogan's' (domeshaped structures made of timber and earth. From this it can be inferred that in addition to environment, the cultural values and preferences of a community determine the range of material it selects for building and the consequent pattern of the dwellings.

The Savaras always live in exclusive settlement of their own. They never build their houses in the company of either the other tribal or non-tribal groups. Such is the case both in the hilly and the plain areas inhabited by them. The settlements of Kannayguda, Savakotapadu and Malluguda in the plains and Kalliti on the hills of Parvathipur agency and ~~Bongsagam~~ and Nosaigam in the plains of

*/ Banda and Jocaga in the hills of Soethampeta Agency and

Mandasa are exclusively inhabited by the Savaras. These villages are compact structurally. The Savara settlements sometime form hamlets to certain main villages. In such cases, the main villages are inhabited by either other tribals or non-tribals or both. They always build their dwelling a furlong or two away from the main villages, with either forests or streams or fields interposed between the main village and the Savara settlement. The Savara settlements of Vippamanuguda, Thobbanguda and Balesu in Parvathipur agency are hamlets of Thadikonda, Iridi and Balesu villages respectively. The main villages are inhabited by Jatapus. The Savara settlement of Yeerapaduguda in the plains of Kotturu Anchay & Sanithi in Pathapatnam taluk is a hamlet of Yeerapadu, a rural village inhabited by non-tribals. The hamlet is about 3 furlongs away from the main village.

A few settlements are shared by the Jatapus and the Savaras. Kotturguda (near Bettili), of Pathapatnam Taluk is inhabited by 16 Savara families and 4 Jatapu families, all the houses being built in the same line. But such settlements are very rare as both Savaras and Jatapus prefer to live in exclusive settlements.

Generally Savaras build their settlements on hill slopes and near hill streams which help in easy access to 'Podu' cultivation, in bringing firewood and in the collection of root and tubers and in facilitating the

fetching of water. The settlements of Balesu and Kalliti are situated on the hills in the vicinity of hill streams. Beranguda and Lakkayaguda are on the plains and hill-streams flow nearby. The Manda and Jodaga settlements are situated on the hill slopes by the side of hill-streams. Thus slopes near hill streams are preferred for their settlements.

Every community represents external structural character of its own. Even the smallest village has some rudimentary form of structural system, evidenced, for example, by the location of the store or church or some locally important home, and by the particular configuration centering at or near the intersection of main and secondary lines of transportation and communication. The variety of spatial patterns of small communities is almost endless.

A definite structural pattern is followed by the Savaras in the construction of their village settlement (Gorjung). Mr. Fawcett has described the Savara settlement as having two rows of huts parallel and facing each other. These two linear rows (Bodoni) of huts are further divided into a number of compartments. Each compartment is occupied by a single family. Some settlements may consist of one linear row only and others more than two. The settlements of Lakkayaguda, Vippananuguda and Thobbanguda are

very small and consist of one linear row of huts. Regu-
laguda in the Kotturu Manchayat Samithi of Pathapatnam
taluk is a very big settlement consisting of five rows of
linear houses. The parallel linear house rows always extend
from east to west. The entrances of these houses face
north and south. Even the alignment of the rows and the
situation of the entrance doors is typically, the same
throughout the Savara country whether it be the plains or
the agency. It is generally felt that the house with en-
trance doors facing east or west will not be in a position
to withstand the heavy gales that blow in these parts
during summer months. It has got some sentimental back-
ground too. A story is current among the Savaras that a
tiger had killed a Savara who built a house with its
entrance facing east. The Savaras consider that north and
south represent the front and back of the body. That is
why the entrances face either south or north. Nobody
would dare change this traditional pattern of the settle-
ments.

A few alterations are made within the traditional
pattern to the settlements. These changes are made accor-
ding to the number of the families inhabiting and the
nature of terrain where the settlements are built.

A sketch map of a Savara settlement is given in the diagram. When less than 10 to 15 families live in a village, they build their houses in a single row with individual families occupying separate compartments in these linear houses. Cattle sheds are constructed parallel to and facing their huts. As the families grow and divide or as and when some families immigrate, they add some more compartments on either side. When the number exceeds 10 or 15, they construct a second row parallel to and facing the existing one. The cattle sheds are shifted to another place. Vippananuga and Lakkayaguda settlements, hamlets of Thadikonda and Irudi respectively, belong to this category.

Figure-II shows a sketch map of another type of Savara settlement. It is an extension of the main dwellings in this type, the two rows are complete. The cattle sheds (C.S) and the piggery ^{are} ~~are~~ built separately on either side of the rows. In some cases, the cattle sheds are added to the two rows on either end. In some other case, the cattle sheds are built in between the dwellings of the two linear rows. Savaraguda, hamlets of Balesu and Kannayguda are typical of the second type. In Malluguda, the cattle sheds are found in between the two linear houses.

In the plains of Kothur in Pethapatnam taluk, the linear cattle sheds are built parallel to each other in between the two parallel linear dwelling houses. The

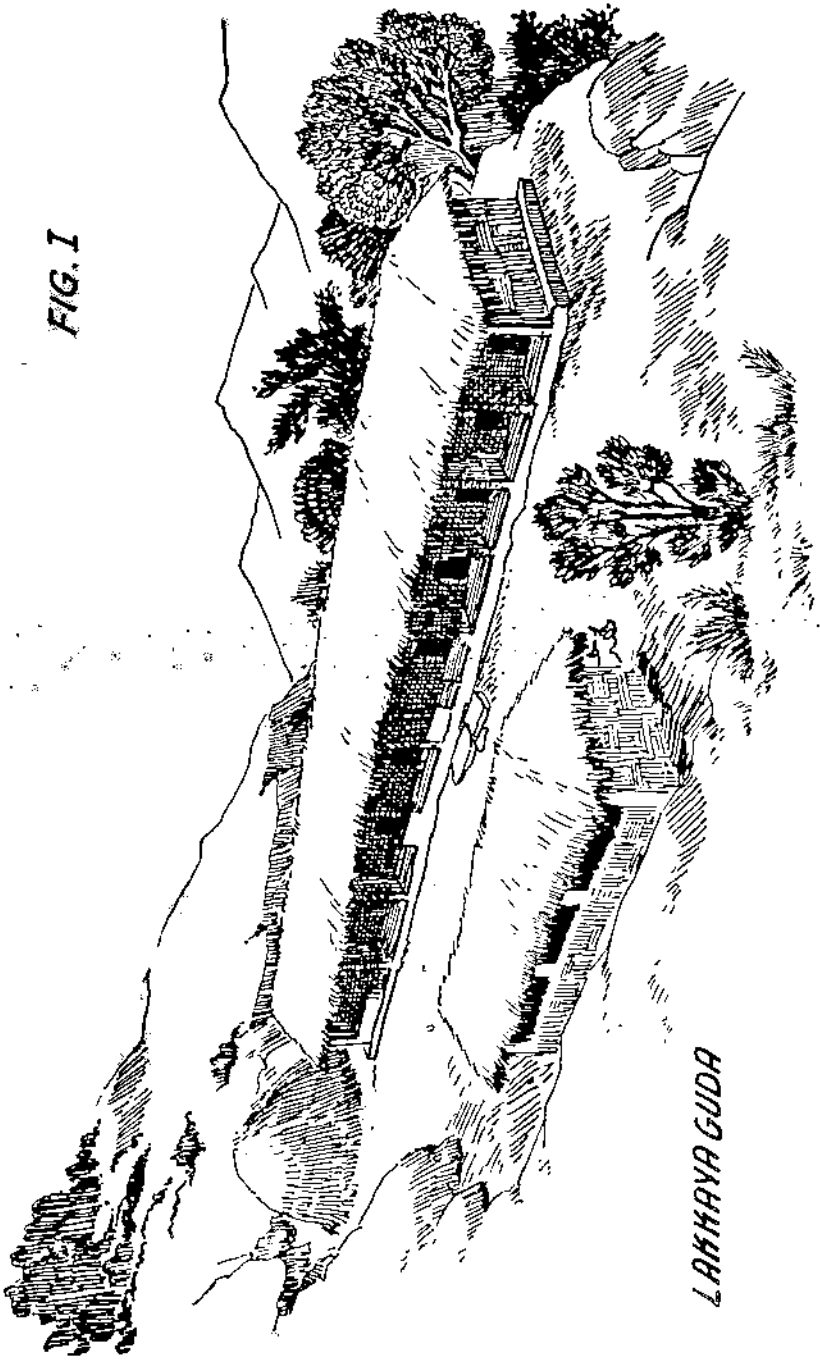
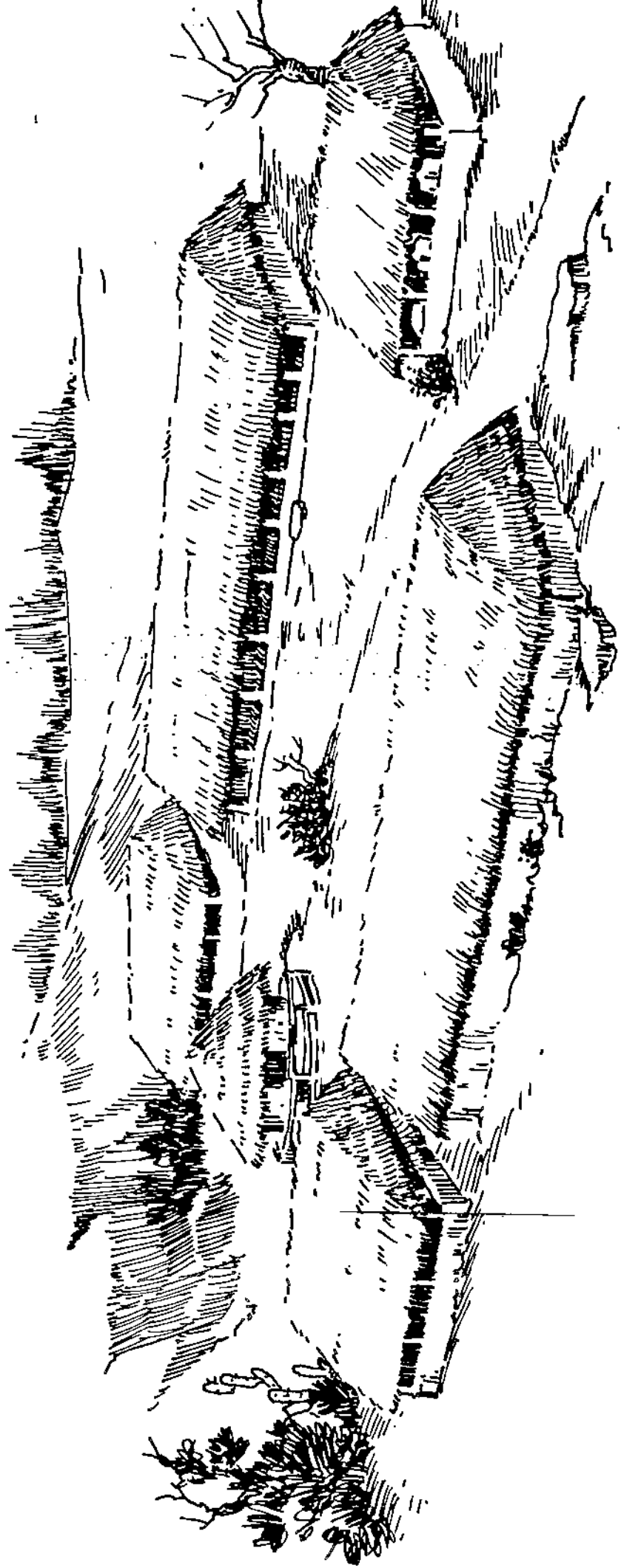


FIG. I

LAKHAYA GUDA

FIG. II



SAYARAGUDA OF BALESU.



FIG. III



YEERAPADUGUDA



FIG. IV

REGULAGUDA

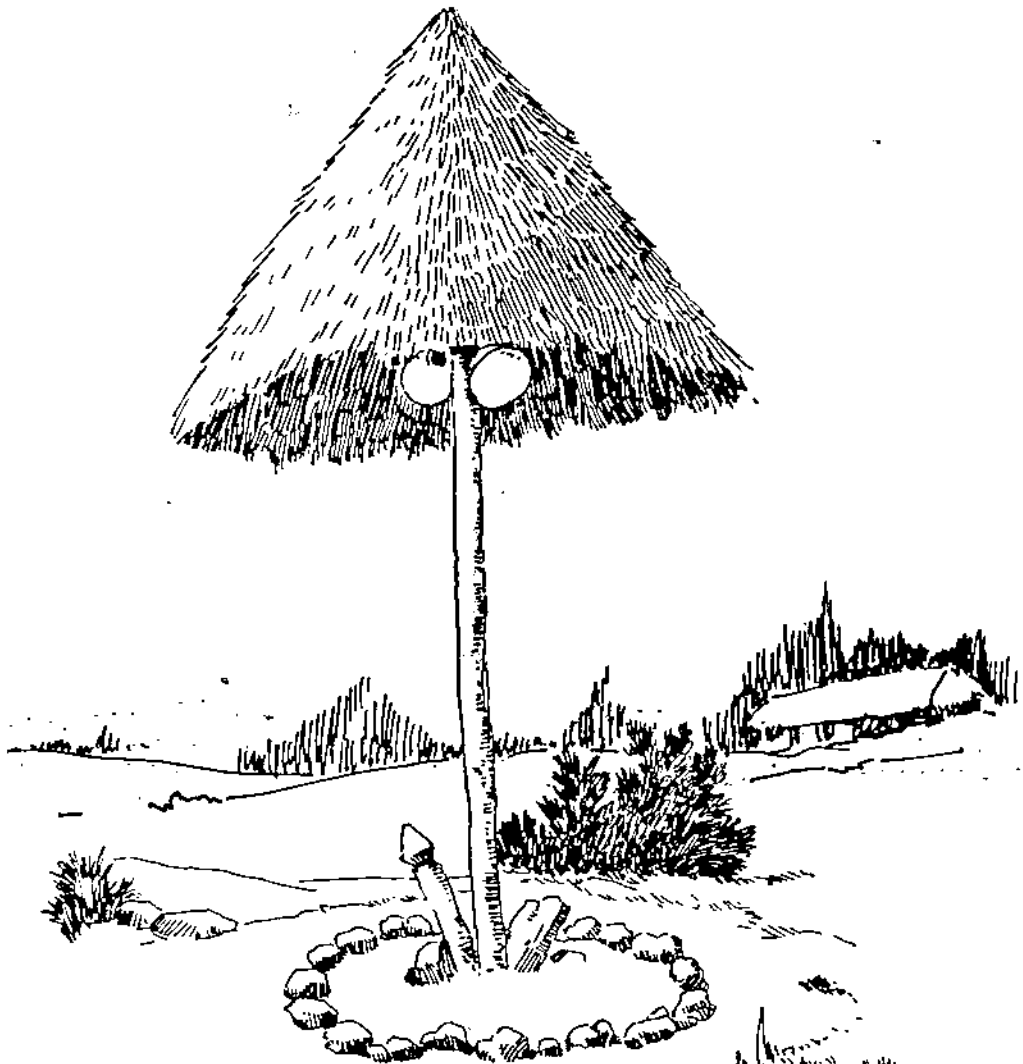
Savara settlement of Yeerapaduguda, a hamlet of Yeerapadu is a typical example of this pattern (Figure-III). Generally in the plains villages, the cattle sheds are built always in front of the dwellings. Savaras seems to have adopted this pattern from their neighbours.

When the terrain of a settlement is slopy and they cannot add on more compartments, separate linear dwellings, parallel to the existing one are constructed. In such type of settlements there may be 5 to 6 linear dwellings, all parallel to one another. The cattle sheds are constructed either adjacent to the dwelling houses or a little apart from them. The cattle sheds may also be built in a row in between two rows of linear houses. The settlement of Manja, Narayanauguda and Jodaga in the Sitampeta agency are of this pattern. They are built on hill slopes and the slope is such that they can not add any more houses to the two rows. That is why they have built 5 or 6 rows. A sketch map of Regalaguda settlement in Kottur plains in Kothapatnam taluk is shown in Figure IV, representing this type of settlement. (Photo not submitted) The cattle sheds are dispersed without any pattern. The Gusada hut is also found in between the two dwelling lines. As has been described earlier such a dwelling pattern is also common with the rural people of this area.

As one moves further north, yet another type of settlement pattern will be noticed among the Savaras. In the plains of Mandasa in Sompeta taluk, the Savara settlements are not compact. They are scattered over a wide area. ~~The sketch map of Bongegam village of this area is shown in figure 7.~~ The linear dwelling houses in Bongegam are scattered over the fields with 3 to 6 families in each. The reason ascribed for such scattering is the common wish of the people to be nearer their agricultural lands. Hence they have built the houses in their respective agricultural fields. The alignment of the rows and situation of the entrance doors are not altered. The cattle sheds are situated generally either in front of the huts or a little away from them.

Kankalopu has 31 households distributed among 4 linear houses, each containing 5, 6, 7 and 10 households scattered over the fields. Such alterations within the general pattern are found in different parts of the Savara habitation. The size of the Savara settlements occasionally changes due to the emigration and immigration of Savara families in search of better living conditions. One who possesses some immovable property does not migrate at all.

Some Ames villages are deserted due to an outbreak of Cholera or small-pox on a large scale resulting in number of deaths. Villages are also abandoned if there



GUSADA. Deity of savara villages

is a continuous threat from man eaters. In such difficult situations, sacrifices are offered to appease the malevolent deities and spirits which are believed to be responsible for the prevalence of virulent contagious diseases and man eaters.

Gusada:

Generally on the outskirts of every village, a small conical hut like structure is raised on a wooden post. In some villages like Regulaguda, Pathapatnam taluk, Gusada is located in the centre of the village. The roof is thatched withalang grass ('dabbagaddi'). Inside the roof, one or two pots are kept hanging from the wooden shaft representing their Gusada deity. While returning from the Shandy, the villagers put a little of all the things they brought from the shandy in these pots and pray the deity to protect their children, cattle and fields from disease and death. It is believed that the Gusada wards off evil spirits and epidemics from entering the village.

Names of Savara Settlements:

The Savara villages are generally named after the name of the group of trees which are found in the vicinity of the settlements. For example, Vippumanuguda is the name of a Savara settlement situated near a group of 'Vippa' (Mohua) trees. Similar is the case with Regulaguda which is located near a group of 'Regu' trees. The

villages are also named after certain animals whom they resemble in their outward appearance. According to Dr. Sitapati, 'Arbur' is a Savara village north of Parlakimidi. Since it is built on a hill slope and the rows of huts resemble the scales of Armadillo (Arbun) it is named 'Arbu'.

The Savaras have a sentimental attachment to the linear pattern of housing. It creates a sense of group solidarity. As the verandas do not have any partitions, the people can see each other through out the row. It is generally felt that this type of dwelling facilities them to know each others difficulties, (especially in times of emergencies like serious illness or death) more easily, than in the case of separate hut dwellers. Their sentimental attachment is so strong that even in the plains of Pathapatnam taluk, there is little change in the linear pattern of housing. When asked whether he is willing to live in a neighbouring colony, a Savara negatively said that he would not mind occupying the colony house but for the individual houses. They also strongly feel that the entrances to the house should face north and south only. One savara colonist remarked that in their traditional houses only 3 seers of any cereal or flour are sufficient for a family of seven members. But in the colony houses they require as much as 6 or 7 seers for the same family. They attribute it to the malific influence of east and

and west facing entrance of the houses. He further remarked that in the linear type of houses only the two compartments on either end of the row are affected by the heavy gales of wind and rains while the rest of the compartments remain un-affected. But the individual houses that are provided in the Government colonies can not withstand the wind and rains at all and hence need constant repairs.

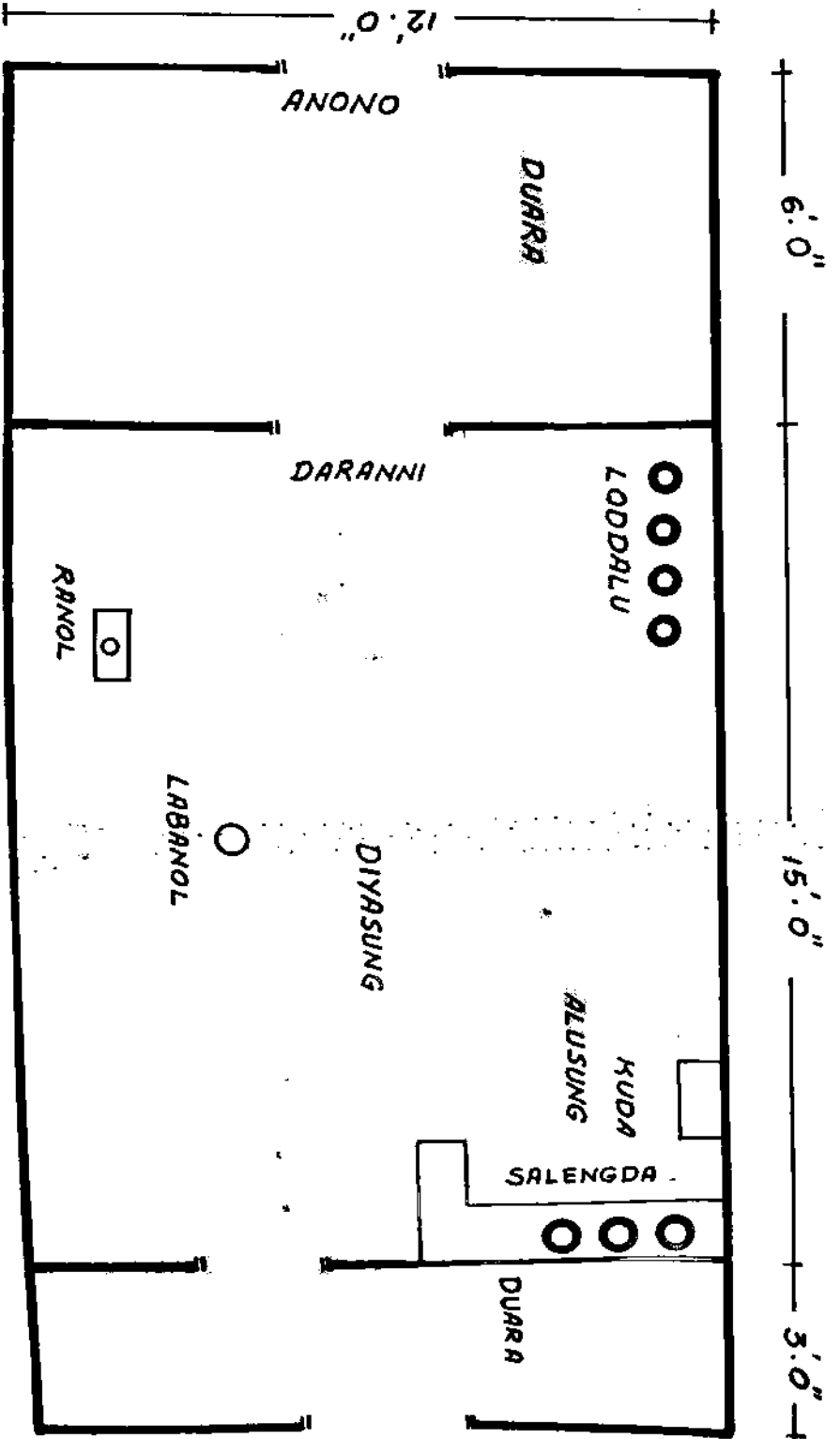
Selection of site for house:

Before actually selecting a place for the construction of the settlement they choose an area which is near a hillstream and the forest. They wish to be nearer the forest as they generally depend upon it for securing small and big game with which they supplement their diet and also for the collection of fire wood, timber and minor forest produce. When they do not own land they should either go to a hill slope for pody cultivation or work as agricultural labourers under economically better off groups.

After the area is chosen, the 'Buyya' tests the sanctity of the place selected for the construction of the settlement. The Buyya takes with him a 'Solla' (measure of rice and one seer of kochua liquor. A small square, within the site, is cleaned and smeared with cow-dung. The 'Buyya' sprinkles liquor on the square. He places a leaf of Aegle marmelos (ulpoda) and keeps 3 or 5 rice grains in a circular form. He chants some

hymns and sprinkles liquor on the rice grains and covers the rice with another leaf. This whole arrangement is covered with a small basket or pot in order to protect it from outside interference. The whole procedure is known as 'Kakkoronku' (to keep rice). Next morning, the 'Buyya' visits the place. If the arrangement of the rice grains remained undisturbed the place is considered auspicious. According to Thurston the grains of rice are folded up in leaflets of Beel tree (Aggle Marmelos), and placed in a split bamboo. But no such procedure is followed now.

Once the sanctity of the site has been established, the head of the settlement goes to the 'Desari' with a 'Solla' of rice and a measure of mohuva liquor to get an auspicious day fixed for starting construction work of the linear house. On the appointed day, they mark out the pban and insert small sticks in the corners and tie a thread round them. The 'Kudan' draws 'Lingor' figures on the wall and sprinkles liquor and turmeric rice and also recites some hymns. Then he proceeds to the site of the new house. He sprinkles turmeric and liquor near the central ~~central~~ spot of the site and sacrifices a fowl after reciting some hymns. The central post for the construction of the hut is erected on this spot. Generally no labour is hired for the construction of the houses. They are built with the reciprocal help of their kith and kin. When all the houses are constructed, a communal feast is arranged. A goat or buffalo is slaughtered on the occasion.



SAVARA HOUSE - GROUND PLAN

House (Sung):

The Savara houses have two sloped roofs and the ground plan is usually rectangular. Most of them contain single roomed compartments with small partitions inside. The ground plan of a Savara house is indicated on the opposite page.

From the ground plan, it will be seen that the house is single roomed with front and back verandahs. The main room is divided into following three parts each used for a distinct purpose.

1. Losung-room: the sacred place where the hill-detties (Loddalu) are kept.
2. Alusung: the cooking corner
3. Diyasung: Middle house or the place where they sleep.

It is taboo to sleep in the 'Losung'. In some houses, no separate place is kept for keeping the 'Loddalu'. The pots are hung from the walls or the roof in a sling. The hearth, water pots and cooking utensils are kept in the 'alusung'.

The 'Diyasung' of every Savara household is invariably equipped with two artifacts, namely, 'Ranol' and 'Labonel' used for husking and grinding the grains respectively. The 'Ranol' is a wooden pounding block dug

out of the trunk of a tree and the ^{'Labonel'}~~'Kavay'~~ is a pounding stone fixed in the floor itself.*

Construction of Material:

The walls of the house are generally built with either mud alone or mud and stone or mud and bricks or mud and wattle. Mud and wattle type walls are generally built on upright pieces of wood stuck in the ground 6 or 8 inches apart, and the intervals filled with stones and mud laid alternatively. These wooden sticks vary in their diameter from 2" to 4" and the thickness of the wall varies from 8" to 12". Wherever stone is available in plenty and secured with ease and walls are built of stone and mud. Some Savaras in Malluguda have built their houses with bricks. But Dr. Sitapathi and Miss Munro wrote that brick and tile are taboo for the Savaras. The Savaras of Pathapatnam also use brick for the walls. There is no such taboo on the use of brick and tile. It is only a question of the economic position of the inmates.

After the walls are raised, the roofs are constructed. Almost all the Savaras houses are thatched with 'alang' or 'dabba' straw. Every year they start collecting 'alang' from the nearby forest from the end of January onwards and pile it up on raised platforms in the backyards of their houses. This protects the 'alang' from being spoiled by the white ants.

* For complete list of Savara Household articles please see Annexure No. 1 at the end of the Chapter.

Construction of the Roof:

A bamboo frame is constructed and the dried 'alang' grass is spread on that frame. For the preparation of the frame bamboo or wooden poles are used. They erect two long poles in the centre and shorter ones in the corner to get slopings on both sides. Another strong wooden beam is horizontally placed over the two central poles. Such beams are also placed connecting the corner poles. Two rafters (bamboo or wooden) are also placed on either side of the horizontal central beam sloping from top to the beam on the corner poles. They split the ends of the rafters and interpose them into each other. Thatching is then started. About a dozen people who know thatching work sit on the frame. A few more stand on the floor and supply the thatch grass. Those on the top, spread the grass on the frame, place a parbo over that and bind it with palm fibre. The owner of the house entertains all the participants at a dinner. He may cut a goat on that occasion.

Coconut leaves and tamarind branches are not used as they soon get spoiled. The branches of banyan tree are not used due to the fear that the deity of small pox may be offended.

Windows or ventilators are not provided in the walls. The roofs are kept very low so as to withstand the heavy gales. The low roofs also prevent cold waves

and heat waves, from directly entering the house. They also protect the inmates from the lashing monsoon rains. The 'mada' (ceiling) forms a second layer of the roof thus keeping the house warm in winter and cool in summer seasons. Most of them construct a ceiling apartment (attic) with wooden planks in the eaves of their corridors. The walls are painted with red, yellow and black soils. Some of them also draw crude decorative drawings on the walls. Most of them paint 'Lingar' figures on the walls of the main room. The verandas of the houses are elevated on either side of the entrance to keep the fowls, pigs etc. Some Savaras decorate the walls with a kind of black paint. They also use the soot of the cooking pots for painting the walls. Some straw is burnt and the ash is mixed with water and used as black paint. Generally Savaras keep their houses very clean by plastering the floor and walls with dung.

House Warming Ceremony:

Savaras celebrate a simple house warming ceremony. The 'Desari' fixes an auspicious day for the first entering of the house (Gannaru). All the close relatives are invited. Liquor is sprinkled near the mortar in the house and the ancestor spirits and deities are invoked. Rice and dal are cooked and the close relatives are given a feast. Non-vegetarian dishes are taboo on this auspicious occasion.

The Hearth:

The hearth is divided into two or three parts to enable them to cook two or three items at a time. The tree branches brought from the forest are not cut into small pieces but are placed into the hearth straight away. They may be as long as 4 or 5 ft. They may split them length-wise if they are bigger in diameter. The 'Kuda' (fire) generally goes on burning through out the year.

Sacred Fire Ceremony:

On the night of the full moon, day of the Telugu month of Phalgun, the tribal people (including Savaras) of a 'Mutta' meet at a particular place. They heap the firewood and light the fire after sacrificing some animals. People come there even from far off places with pots to take the sacred fire. The night is spent in dance and song. At 3 or 4 'O' clock in the early morning they collect embers either in the pots or in the green leaves and return to their village.

After reaching home the hearth is cleaned and plastered. Fire is lit in the hearth with the new embers and food is cooked. The fire is kept burning throughout the year till the sacred fire is brought again next year. Whenever they wish to rekindle the hearth some fuel is added. They never light fire in the hearth with matches.

During the Winter and Rainy seasons, they hang a bamboo frame above the hearth about 5 feet from the floor under which the inmates crawl to do their cooking. This loft is known as 'Mala'.

These being the main features of a Savara household, certain families make slight alternations to the compartment to suit individual fancies and tastes. In general the various household implements like knives, a tangi, battle-axe, a sword, and bows and arrows may also be stuck somewhere under the thatch. Agricultural implements may be seen too; small ones stuck under the roof or on the loft, and longer ones resting against the wall. Pigs are not so common with the Savaras; rather goats are more commonly domesticated by them. The front verandahs or the back verandahs are converted into rooms to keep the goats or sheep.

APPENDIX No.1

HOUSE-HOLD POSSESSIONS

The Savaras possess utensils and agricultural implements for domestic and agricultural uses respectively. The brief list gives an idea of their household possessions:

1. 3 or 4 earthen pots to fetch and store water. Some
2. of the well to do Savaras have brass vessels for the purpose.
2. One 'Daka' (earthen pot) for cooking rice.
3. 2 or 3 'pattili' (earthen pots) for cooking rice.
4. 3 or 4 'sataval' (Ladles) of different sizes.
5. 1 or 2 'supdrui' - 'thodo' (large baskets)
6. 2 or 3 'Palaka' (small baskets)
7. 1 'Dibba' - Grain tin with a capacity of about 120 seers.
8. 1 'Kada' - Big grain tin with a capacity of about 1200 seers.
9. 3 or 4 'gine' - aluminium plates for taking food.
10. 'Kov' - Gourd Water Bottle - It is prepared from a type of wild gourd other than the one that is eaten. These wild gourds grow in the forest and generally the plant creeps right on top of trees or fences. They are bitter in taste and are not edible. These are collected from the creepers before they ripen. A small hole is made and the internal soft material is taken out. Hot water is poured into the gourd and kept for a day or two.

Then it is cleaned and used. It is generally used to collect water from the springs when water is not abundantly available for household purposes. Each house will have more than one 'Kov'.

11. 'Asol' - 'Add' leaf cups to drink gruel (Pakada)
12. 'Sondi' - 3 or 4 cots to sleep
13. 'Voyyar' - Winnowing fan
14. 'Sasa' - 3 or 4 bottles to store oils
15. 'Mame' - A basket to collect and throw away waste.
16. 'Golem' - A pot to water the cattle.
17. 'Bongsang' - It is a wooden hallow used to water the cattle. They bring the trunk of a big 'Kagu' tree or some other suitable tree and cut out a piece of about 3' in length. From it they make a rectangular wooden cylinder by chopping. Then a rectangular hollow of about 9" deep is made lengthwise to hold water or feed.
18. 'Sanuru' - Rain hat for men and women stiched with leaves.
19. Lanuva and Anung -- These are the two arrangements for keeping hen while it is brooding. The hen is placed in a basket and the basket is hung in a sling from the roof of the verandah. Such an arrangement is known as 'Anung'. Sometimes, one end of a bamboo pole is split and a basket is placed between them. This type of arrangement is called 'Lanuva'. 'Lanuva' is kept in a corner of the house or the Verandah.
20. 'Kanu': - This shaving razor is purchased in the shandies. Only a few families own it and others borrow it in need. Previously, they were using armadillo shells and glass pieces for the purpose.

21. 'Guttan': Two types of wooden hammers are used to pound 'Jeelugu' flour and to break mango kernels (fANKU). Another for powdering seed and carry Ota path.
22. Ranuva:- Implement Holder - It is made out of bamboo. A bamboo piece of 1' or 1½' length is cut on either side of the knots (ganupu). Two strips are cut length-wise, one on the top and the second right below. It is generally suspended either in the verandah or inside the houses. It is used to keep sickles, knives etc.
23. 'Ranany':- Hanger - It is made out of a forked bamboo branch. It is hung from the roof either in the verandah or in the house. It is used as a cloth hanger.
24. Kunthunur:- It is a bamboo tube of 1' length closed at one end and opened at the other. It is only used to store vegetable seeds.
25. 'Laba': Spoon to fry vegetables.
26. 'Jari': It is a brass utensil purchased in the weekly shandies.- It is generally used to sprinkle Mohua liquor during the propitiation of deities.
27. Sanar: Bamboo combs.
28. Solla: A small bamboo measure
29. Kuda - Hearth
30. Manli: Oil Lamp
31. Onal Ondri - mortar and pestle
32. Ranisider: 'Thiragali' - Grinding stone
33. Koda - Ladder
34. Jono - Broomstick
35. Erthun - Plough

36. Rangom - Yoke
37. Emsa - 3 or 4 plough shares
38. Nolla and Saur - Field levellers
39. 1 or 2 spades (para)
40. Gunapam: Crowbar
41. 2 or 3 Gikki (Kidithe) used for weeding in Podu fields and cutting redgram.
42. Konki-boregi: 2 or 3 hoe-cum-digging sticks for ~~digging~~ sowing seed and raking Podu fields.
43. 3 or 4 Pedam (sickles)
44. 1 or 2 Enjum (axe): The metal part is purchased in the weekly shandy and the wooden handle is made and fitted by them. This implement is very important for a Savara. It is used for cutting the trees in the forest. It is also useful for self-protection during his travels in the jungle both day and night. With the help of this implement alone he makes all the wooden artifacts, including a plough.
45. Perathatha: This artifact is made out of wood. It consists of a rectangular or square wooden body. It contains a hole into which a sharp pointed wooden handle is fixed. This is used to remove the cover of the castor seed.
46. Kondi: This type of knife is the personal property of a Savara man. They carry it in the waist band called 'Mina' (thread around the waist). The knife is always placed inside a bamboo sheath. It is used for cutting the small branches of trees, slicing of fruits, roots etc. The knife is purchased in the weekly shandy and the sheath is made by them.
47. Pandrakda - Bamboo hook.

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

The Savara Social structure does not present a uniform pattern throughout the various parts of the habitations in the country. The Savaras living in Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and other parts of the country have varied cultural, social, political and linguistic patterns. This complex cultural frame work is amply illustrated by the fact that the Savara Society in general consists as many as twenty six endogamous divisions with or without the presence of clear cut exogamous subdivisions. The following are the names of the endogamous groups present among the Savaras of the country.

1. Arsid Savara
2. Bhima Savara
3. Based. or Besend Savara
4. Bobbili Savara
5. Dondiya Savara
6. Goutara Savara
7. Jadu Savara
8. Jara Savara
9. Jati-Savara
10. Jurai Savara
11. Kampu Savara
12. Kindal Savara
13. Kimsed Savara or Kisser Savara
14. Kudumba Savara
15. Kumba Savara

16. Lambolanjia Savara
17. Luang Savara or Luara Savara
18. Malia Savara
19. Mara Savara
20. Moni Savara
21. Milu Savara
22. Mutta Savara
23. Sarada Savara
24. Sudda Savara
25. Tekkali Savara
26. Kapu Savara.

But this list is neither final nor exhaustive as some authorities on Savaras enumerated some of these sub-groups as synonym^{ous} while others treat the same as independent sub-groups. The prevalent confusion can be safely attributed to the local variations in calling the same sub-group or different sub-groups by different names or the same name respectively in their plural habitations distributed in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa where distinct languages are spoken in each region.

According to Sir Edgar Thurston Savaras are divided into two broad groups viz., Hill Savaras and Plain Savaras. These are further sub-divided into only eight sub-groups as given below:

HILL SAVARAS:

1. Savaras, Jati Savara (Savaras par Excellence) or Maliah Savaras.

2. Arsi, Asisi^{nubas} or Lombo Lanjiya - Arsi ~~means~~ Monkey and Lombo Lanjiya indicates long tail, evidently refers to the mode of dress of this group, characterised by the long piece of cloth tied by the male members around their waist, drawn in between the legs and allowed to hang behind from the waist band. Their occupation is said to be weaving and agriculture.

3. Luara or Muli (Black Smiths)

4. Kindal (Basket weavers)

5. Kumbi (Potters)

PLAINS SAVARAS:

1. Kapu or Pallapu Savaras (Cultivators)

2. Sudho (Good) Savaras.

It is very interesting to note that the last mentioned groups inspite of adopting the Oriya language and customs still claims to be Sudho or Pure Savaras. On the other hand the Kapu Savaras who have been living amidst the more advanced and large plains society since a long time still practise a majority of the traditional customs. Thus among these plains Savaras while one group has been de-tribalised, the other group is in the initial process of de-tribalisation. Rao Seheb Gidugu Venkata Rama Murthy Pantulu is of the opinion that Kapu Savaras are also known as Baseng or Kudeng Savaras, the word 'Baseng' being derived from the Savara word 'basi' which

literally means salt as these Savaras of the hills were accustomed to purchase salt from the fairs held in the plains below the ghats and hence the name. But this is a far fetched argument as no other tribal group has such name even though all the tribals invariably depend upon the shandies held in the plains areas adjoining the hill tracts for their salt requirements. Further, even among Savaras, at present no sub-group bears the name 'Baseng' and hence G.V.Rama Murthy Panthulu's argument is untenable. Again Rao Sahab refers to another Oriya synonym of their sub-groups-Kampu which indicates that the group adopted the customs of the Oriya Kampus (Synonym of Kapus or agriculturists of Telugu area). He also mentions that 'Kudumba' is another name by which they are known but reports that there is a separate sub-division of them called by this name. Besides these sub-groups, he also refers to two other endogamous sub-groups, viz., Bobbili and Bhima Savaras. But only 12 savaras were enumerated in Bobbili taluk during 1931 Census operations and even these people could not be traced out during the present Survey and their existence as Bobbili Savaras is conspicuous by their absence as they were never found to inhabit these areas. The later sub-group, Bhima Savaras are found to inhabit Sompeta and Tekkali taluks of Srikakulam district. Some of these sub-groups like Luara or Muli (Black smiths) Kindal (Basket makers), Kumbi (Potters) Kapu or Pallapu (agriculturists of the plain areas) are occupational

sub-groups named after their occupation whereas others such as Jadu (Savaras inhabiting the hills beyond Kallakota and Puttal-singi), Bobbili Savaras (Inhabiting Bobbili taluk of Srikakulam district) and Tekkali Savaras (living in Tekkali Taluk of Srikakulam district) are called after the name of locality they inhabit. In addition to these sub-groups a section of the Savaras are also called 'Konda Savaras' by the Savaras living in the plains because of the former's hilly habitat. When enquired deep into their sub-divisions, they say that they too belong to the Kapu Savaras. But the differences in the relative degrees of acculturation between Kapu Savaras and Konda Savaras ~~acculturation between Kapu Savaras and Konda Savaras seem~~ to have resulted in the prohibition of inter-digging and inter-group marriages. While the Kapu Savaras imbibed some of the plains cultural traits, the Konda Savaras because of their relative isolation due to geographical barriers are not subject to the plains cultural influences as much as the Kapu Savaras. In such a situation customs of commensality and inter-group marriages alone could not be taken into consideration in treating these two groups as distinct from one another. Moreover, there are a good number of endogamous sub-divisions among the Savaras and such localised endogamous sub-groups are the products of the limited spatial distribution of marital relations existing only between particular families to avoid any incestuous relations. Such limited marital relations

between the families belonging to different villages are specially evolved in view of the absence of exogamous clans among these tribals.

The main difference between the Konda Savaras and Kapu Savara, from the point of view of plains living Kapu Savaras, is attributed to the different modes of dressing. A plains living Savara dresses and moves like any other plains caste man whereas a hill Savara still wears a loin cloth with one end hanging behind from the waist-band like the tail of a monkey. But a different view is expressed by the Savaras living in the hills. They said that they are superior to the plains living Savaras as the plains Savaras eat the food cooked by their women in menses. Hence the Konda Savaras neither inter-dine nor inter-marry with them. The hill Savara women are tabooed from entering the house during the menstrual periods as they are considered to be polluted. But this custom is not in vogue among a majority of the Savaras living in the plains areas as they started imitating the practices of the low caste plains people and their women freely move in the house and cook food during their menses. The point of difference expressed by either group reflects only one fact-the different levels of acculturation achieved by the two groups. But for the superficial cases there are little variations observed in the economic, social, religious */

Of the main sub-divisions mentioned, only Savaras belonging to Kapu, ~~Jaxaxdika~~ and Bhima Sub-groups are

*/ political and other facts of their life. Hence it may be more appropriate to term the Savaras belongs to both the groups as Kapu Savaras in view of their common occupation agriculture

are known to be inhabiting the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh with the rest of the sub-groups mostly confined to Madhya Pradesh and Orissa States. But a sprinkling of them may some times spill over across the borders into Andhra Pradesh.

While the prefix 'Kapu' is added to those Savaras who are engaged in agriculture and allied pursuits, the prefix 'Bhima' is attributed to a section of Savaras who claim a mythical descent from Bhima, the second among the great Five Pandava brothers. According to a legend current among the Bhima Savaras, the Pandavas once stayed on Mahendra peak, in the vicinity of the present day Mandasa in Sompeta taluk during their twelve years of exile in the forests. One day Draupadi requested Arjuna to bring her a tiger's tail. Arjuna in turn asked Bhima to get the tiger tail. Bhima took his bow and arrow and shot at a tiger from the peak of the Mahendra hill. But unfortunately, instead of the tiger, his arrow struck a cow. As soon as the arrow struck the cow, it cried 'Ambu' and the place is known as Baruva. The arrow was retrieved by Bhima and the wounded cow followed its route. After travelling a few miles, the cow eased its 'Pottili' on the way and this place has hence been called 'Pottangi'. After going a few more miles, its 'Budda' came out and the place has been named 'Bhudersing'. It walked a few more miles and died. The Pandavas then carried the dead body up the hill and cooked the beef. Draupadi served the cooked beef to all the five brothers. Bhima ate the cooked beef while the other brothers avoided it by keeping

the meat underneath the leafplates. Bhima's eating of the beef angered the other brothers called him a Savara as he had eaten beef like a Savara. Hence from that onwards all the progeny of Bheema have been called Bheema Savara.

The most significant and peculiar feature of the social organization of the Savaras inhabiting the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh is the absence of clan organization or similar totemistic or other exogamous unilateral descent groups unlike the Savaras living in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh States. Dr. G.V. Sitapati* mentions that this is a peculiar feature of the then Ganjam and Visakhapatnam districts as all other branches of the Kol-munda race, the neighbouring Khonds and even the Savaras of Chattisgarh, Sambalpur and Orissa have exogamous septs or 'Bargas'. Russel and Hiralal** also recorded the existence of as many as 52 and 80 exogamous septs or 'Bargas' among the Laria and Uriya Savaras respectively of Chattisgarh and Sambalpur areas. Further, K.C. Dubey***, Superintendent,

* The Soras and their country, Dr. G.V. Sitapati, J.A.H.R.S. Vol. XII part IV page-4.
** The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India, R.V. Russel and R.B. Hiralal Vol. IV Page-504-5 Art. Savara.
*** The Saours of Sagar District, M.A., By K.C. Dubey, Vanyajati Vol. XII No. 1, Page-11.

Census Operations, M.P., also reports that the Sacras of Sagar District are divided into a number of exogamous septs called Bains which seem to be functional only in regulating marriages.

According to Dr.G.V.Sitapathi* the Savaras used to practise village exogamy in order to avoid incestuous marital relations as the Savaras considered that men and women of the same village stand in the relationship of brothers and sisters or belong to the same extended family. He even quoted instances of imposing fines on those who violated the long standing rule relating to village exogamy. Contrary to Dr.G.V.Sitapati, Mr.Fawcett observes that** A Sowara may marry a women of his own or any other village.

But Dr.Sitapati's observations pertaining to village exogamy do not seem to hold good in the present Savara society. Eventhough clan organization is absent, the Savaras have not been observing village exogamy as a necessary rule in the selection of the spouses. In contrast to the contention of Dr.G.V.Sitapati, the Savara villages of the region depict a different social structure with each village having a cluster of families closely knit into a web of affinal and blood relationships i.e., brothers, brother-in-law etc., who are inhabiting the same village. A survey was conducted to sub-stantiate

* Ibid

** Quoted by Edgar Thurston, the Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol.VI, Page-314.

the statement pertaining to the non-existence of village exogamy in nine villages - Five in Parathipur Agency, two in Sitampeta agency, two in Pathapatnam taluk ~~and two in Mandasa area of Senpeta agency, and two in Pathapatnam taluk and two in Mandasa taluk.~~ In total 315 marriages have been recorded in the villages, of which 123 marriages are between spouses of the same villages which works to 39% of the total marriages. The village-wise particulars of Malluguda, Narayaduguda, Yeerapaduguda and Bousagam clearly show that 16,9,5 and 17 marital alliances respectively are between spouses of the same village without incurring any fines by either party as it is not considered to be a violation of any social taboo. These figures thus disprove the existence of village exogamy as reported by Dr.Sitapati and they firmly support the statement of Mr.Fawcett. Moreover, Savaras always prefer a spouse of the same village to a spouse from outside the village as the former affinal relationship fosters reciprocal and voluntary co-operation in the family pursuits of the affinal families and also in facing any emergency in their day to day life. The present day Savara village is a net work of relationships where all the inhabitants are related to each other through blood and marriage.

But while discussing about the more acculturated Savaras of the plains, Dr.Sitapati writes that

"*The Hinduised Soras who have been in contact with the Telugu have adopted the system of affixing to their names, the house of family name so that the persons bearing the same house or family name may constitute the exogamous group". This particular trait has been adopted by a section of the Savaras of Parvathipuram taluk and Sitampet Agency to a large extent. These Savaras seem to have adopted the family names of their immediate neighbours, the Jatapus, and the Plains Caste people to a large extent. ~~These Savaras have adopted the family names of their immediate neighbours, the Jatapus, and the Plains Caste people to a large extent.~~ For all practical social purposes such as marriage these family names are exogamous. Contrary to the Savaras, who have adopted family names of their neighbours, some of the Savaras of Pathapatnam Taluk have adopted the names of the villages to which they originally belonged as their family names. For example Dasupuram, Gurunda and Kordings are the three family names found among the inhabitants of Koduru, a Savara village located about 2 miles from Pathapatnam. All the Savara families of the village are immigrants from Dasupuram, Gurunda and Kordinga and the respective village names have been adopted as their family names. The fact that a group of families having the same family name, named after the village they once inhabited form an exogamous group, to some extent

* The Soras and their Country, Dr.G.V.Sitapathi, J.A.H.R.S. Vol.XII - Part IV - P.6

justifies the contention of Dr. Sitapati about the prevalence of village exogamy among the Savaras at one time. But the Kapu Savaras of Sitampeta agency and Pathapatnam Taluk and the Bhima Savaras of Sompeta taluk have not yet adopted the family names of their neighbours. In the absence of exogamous family names and clans, these Savaras mostly resort to symmetric cross-cousin marriages as a way to regulate their matrimonial alliances in avoiding the danger of contracting incestuous marital relations. But here it is interesting to note that the Savaras who have adopted the family names of the neighbouring tribals and non-tribals did not follow either the clans of the surrounding tribals or Gotrams of the non-tribals.

In the absence of exogamous clan organisation and the restricted adoption of family names among some sections of the Savaras of Andhra Pradesh, family plays a significant role in their social, economic and cultural life. Family is thus the lone unit of social structure among these sections.

Again the Savara families with Surnames are classified into prescribed and proscribed families for entering into marital alliances. The table given below gives the nature of marital alliances, prescribed or proscribed, of a few surnames vis-a-vis other surnames prevalent among the Savaras of Parvathipur Agency.

Name of the family	Name of families with whom marital relations are prescribed.	Names of families with whom marriages are prescribed.
1. Areka	Kondagorre, Biddiki, Emeriki Puvvula, Areka, Mandinga.	Mandinga
2. Konda-gorre.	Areka, Mandinga	Biddiki, Emerki, Puvvula.
3. Biddiki	Areka, Mandinga, Cheemala Voika.	Kondagorre, Emeriki, Puvvula
4. Mandinga	Kondagorre, Puvvula, Emeriki, Biddiki	Areka
5. Puvvula	Areka, Mandinga	Biddiki, Emeriki, Kondagorre.
6. Kadraka	Biddiki, Pattika, Emeriki, Kondagorre.	Areka, Mandinga

Unlike the Savaras of Parvathipuram Agency, the Kapu Savaras of Seethampet Agency and Pathapatnam taluk and the Bhima Savaras of Sompeta Taluk mostly resort to symmetric cross-cousin marriages in order to avoid incestuous marital relations as these two endogamous groups did not adopt the family names as a means to regulate their marital relations. The prevalence of symmetric cross-cousin marriages can be understood from the details of performance of both types of cross-cousin marriages collected from ten villages - Four villages of Parvathipur Agency (Among the Savaras who have adopted family names of their neighbours), two Bhima Savara villages from Sompeta taluk and two villages each from the plains of Pathapatnam and the agency of Sitampeta. In total,

particulars of 277 marriages were collected. Among them 25.7% are cross-cousin marriages. Of the 277 marriages, 139 and 133 marriages are recorded in Parvathipuram agency and the rest of the Savara country respectively. The region wise analysis of these marital alliances showed that the incidence of cross-cousin marriages among the Savaras of Parvathipuram Agency is as low as 8.63% while in the rest of the Savara country the number of cross cousin marriages is as high as 43.73% of the total marriages for which particulars are collected from that region. This high variation in the frequencies of cross-cousin marriages between the Savaras of Parvathipuram agency and the rest of the Savara habitat can not be attributed to mere accident. The high frequency of cross-cousin marriages among the Savaras who have not yet borrowed the house names of their neighbours like the Savaras of Parvathipuram Agency amply supports the observation that among the Savaras living outside Parvathipuram Agency, cross-cousin marriages are to a large extent instrumental in regulating the matrimonial alliances among them in view of the peculiar non-existence of the usual exogamous groups, like clans, family names etc. Another interesting feature of the analysis of the cross-cousin marriages is the absence of any preference for either maternal uncle's daughters or paternal aunt's daughters as their respective frequencies worked out to 11.9% and 14% of the total cross-cousin marriages recorded.

But acquiring mates through cross-cousin marriages is not the only method resorted to circumvent the difficulty in avoiding incestuous relations as this method has certain inherent limitations like non-availability of real or classificatory cross-cousins for all the spouses. Hence, besides symmetric cross-cousins marriages, the Savaras of Sitampeta, Pathapatnam and Sompeta adopt other methods to secure proper spouses without violating the taboo on incestuous relations. For instance, if one of the brothers brings his wife from a certain village, he tries to secure wives for his other brothers also from the same village. Sometimes it is even observed that father and son get their respective spouses from the same village. Thus in course of time traditional marital relationships are established between spouses belonging to selected villages so that they may not contract incestuous relationships. Thus by selecting mates from a specific village, they can readily reckon the nature of relationships existing between the people of the two villages and nurture the same relationships. Even in such a village, spouses are preferably selected from the same family with which they had already marital relations. Here it may be pointed out that Dr. Sitapati's contention pertaining to the prevalence of village exogamy partially holds good as it is not the only method but one of the many methods of avoiding incestuous relationships among the Savaras who do not have exogamous family names.

Further, Dr. Sitapathi writing on Savara endogamy mentioned that the selection of a spouse is practically restricted to certain political and geographical divisions. In this connection he observed that the Savaras of Visakhapatnam Agency do not contract marital relations with the Savaras of Ganjam Agency even when they belong to the same social sub-division as they are aware that their regions are under the administration of a separate Agent to the Governor. He even stated that in the same district, that the Savaras of a particular political sub-division i.e., 'Mutha' avoided matrimonial alliances with those of another 'Mutha' on the ground that each 'Mutha' is under the direct control of its own 'Bissoyi' though both the 'Bissoyis' are subordinate to the same Agent to the Governor in the district. Here Dr. Sitapathi went to the extent of stating that the Savaras practice regional or territorial endogamy. But this statement of Dr. Sitapathi did not stand the test of present study as the genealogies collected during the Survey revealed that neither political nor geographical factors have any bearing upon their marital alliances. Cases of inter-marriage between the Savaras of Parvathipuram Taluk of Andhra Pradesh and the Savaras of Parlakimidi, Rayagada and Gunpur areas of Orissa State have been recorded. Even in the same district, Srikakulam marriages took place between the Savaras of Parvathipuram Taluk and Pathapatnam Taluk. Thus, contrary to Dr. G.V. Sitapathi's observation, territorial endogamy is not practised by the present day Savaras of Srikakulam district.

The improved means of transport and communications in the latter half of the present century might have facilitated the establishment of better contacts between the Savaras living in various regions and the consequent intermarriages.

Age is not a criterion for the performance of marriage of both sexes. Child and adult marriages are in vogue at present among the Savaras. Child marriages have the stamp of tradition among the Savaras and Dr. Sithapathi States that child marriages are in vogue in former days, "As a general rule among the Hinduised Savaras in the plains and in the border land of the Agency tracts and the latter (adult marriages), in the wild country of the Soras. Tradition and references to marriages in the legendary stories point to the prevalence of adult marriages in the past"* But child marriages are generally restricted to close relatives such as cross-cousins. In their eagerness to strengthen the existing relationship, the parents of both boy and girl arrange child marriages at the earliest opportunity. In case of child marriages it is always the bride-groom's parents who take the initiative in starting marriage negotiations.

In the case of adult marriages, the parents will be lax and allow their sons or daughters to choose their partners and convey their choice to them for their formal

* Soras and their country by Dr. G. V. Sithapathi, J. A. H. R. S. Vol. XII Part-IV.

approval. Sometimes, the offspring may start their love affair with spouses of their liking with the blessings of their parents. A period of courtship precedes the final decision regarding their marriage. The grown up boys and girls have plenty of opportunities to meet and exchange their views during their visit to shandies, while working in 'Podu fields and forests and at the time of collecting minor forest produce and grazing cattle. Marriage celebrations of friends and relatives provide yet another venue of courtship and all these opportunities are eagerly availed by the Savara youth to select their partners for a happy married life.

The premarital courtship leads to sexual intercourse and sometimes results in pregnancy to the girl even before the actual performance of the marriage. The premarital sexual intercourse is tolerated provided the spouses belong to the same endogamous group and do not violate the norms of incestuous relations described below. Generally premarital sexual intercourse results in marriage and the obligation to the man to marry the girl with whom he had intercourse increases if she becomes pregnant. If the man shirks from marrying her, he is compelled to pay what is known as 'Jaram' to the girl's parents for the maintenance of the child. However, the deserted unmarried pregnant girl is not socially looked down. Moreover, her chances of easily getting married are more as she has already given proof of her fertility. Hence no attempt

is made to discourage or prevent girls from having premarital relations and the children of such union suffer no social disabilities though they are not eligible for a share in the property of their biological father.

In the absence of dependable exogamous clans or similar exogamous groups, the necessity for imposing some other restrictions has become all the more important as the Savaras vehemently disapprove incestuous unions. Hence both real and classificatory relatives have been grouped into permitted and prohibited relationships for regulating the marital relations. Marriage between a man and any of the following real or classificatory relatives is considered incestuous:

1. Mother
2. Mother's sister
3. Father's brother's wife
4. Father's sister
5. Step mother
6. Mother-in-law
7. Grand-mother
8. Sister
9. Father's brother's daughter
10. Mother's sister's daughter
11. Brother's daughter
12. Wife's daughter
13. Younger brother's wife
14. Daughter-in-law.

Dr. Sitapathi further categorised these incestuous relations according to the seriousness of offence depending upon the nearness of blood relationship between the two persons involved. These are classified as follows:

Class I (of nearest Blood-tie).

1. With mother or Grand-mother.
2. With daughter or Grand-daughter (Son's daughter or daughter's daughter)
3. With Sister or Step-sister
4. With parallel cousins.

Class II (of distant blood-tie).

1. With Mother's sister
2. With Father's sister
3. With Brother's daughter
4. With sister's daughter
5. With first cross-cousins.

Class III (Based on affinal relationship, not blood-tie).

1. With step-mother
2. With mother-in-law
3. With daughter-in-law
4. With Step-daughter
5. With wife's brother's wife
6. With younger brother's wife.
7. With Wife's elder sister
8. With Father's elder brother's wife.

But the three fold gradation in incestuous relations did not stand the test of the time as the present investigation revealed that the present day Savaras do not recognise such clear cut distinction in the seriousness of the offence in violating the incestuous relations. At present all the incestuous relations are considered equally offensive. Moreover, a close scrutiny of Dr. Sitapathi's list of incestuous relations shows slight discrepancy. He has included sister's daughters and excluded the father's younger brother's wife in and from the list respectively.

His contention is that sexual relations between a man and his father's younger brother's wife are only adulterous but not incestuous because custom sanctions marriage with father's younger brother's widow. But now-a-days the Savaras prohibit such a marriage as father's younger brother's wife is a classificatory mother as she is considered to be equal to mother's sister and marriage or sexual activity between the ego and the classificatory mothers is strictly prohibited. The Savara kinship terms 'Yayang' also explains the prohibition by its application to mother's sister and father's younger brother's wife even after her becoming widow.

Similarly, Dr. Sithapathi's observation that maternal uncle-niece marriage or sexual union is incestuous does not at present hold good as the Savaras are allowing marriage of a man with his sister's daughter. Hence the present investigation clearly brings home the drift in the social norms of Savaras towards the social precepts of plains caste Telugu people.

Dr. Sithapathi mentions that Oriyaised Savaras do not permit cross-cousin marriages like the Oriya Castes of the plains. But as mentioned earlier Kapu and Bhima Savaras not only allow symmetric cross-cousin marriages but encourage them. Further, cross-cousin marriage has been adopted by the Savaras of Palakonda, Pathapatnam and Sompot taluks as a method of regulating marriages in view of the absence of exogamous clans or family name groups.

Savara Kinship terminology also indicates that cross-cousins of both types are potential mates. The maternal uncle and paternal aunt are customarily under obligation to their sister and brother respectively to give their daughters in marriage to their nephews.

Besides cross-cousin marriages, levirate, sororate and widow remarriages are socially approved among Savaras. Generally a real or classificatory younger brother inherits the widow of the deceased elder brother after paying a nominal compensation to her late husband's parents. Thereafter she lives as his wife. After some time, he offers new clothes to the 'Kuba' (Spirit) of her deceased husband so that his spirit may not cause any harm to him and his family.

While monogamy is quite common and frequent, Polygyny is less frequent. Polyandry is unknown among Savaras. Of the 100 families surveyed, only 10 families are polygynous, the rest being monogamous. Even of these 10 families, most of them are sororate polygynous families - the plural wives of the man being daughters of the same parents. A Savara may acquire the second and subsequent wives when a) his previous wives are barren, b) they can not cope up with multifarious domestic, agricultural and food gathering activities of the family or c) he inherits the widow of his deceased elder brother. But in all cases of plural marriages, the man must seek the consent of his first wife. If she gives

her approval for acquiring a second wife, he may marry either his wife's younger sister, if any, or seek the hand of an outsider. Sometimes, the first wife herself takes the initiative and requests her husband to get another wife when she alone could not attend to household work and economic pursuits so that her burden will be lessened. For example, Sambra of Iridi village of Bhadragiri block married a second woman at the request of his first wife. He had lands for cultivation and his first wife could not attend to both domestic and agricultural work. So she prevailed upon her husband to take her younger sister as his second wife. She even requested her parents to demand less 'Voli' (Bride-price). In a majority of cases the factors prompting polygynous marriages are economic rather than for fancy and prestige or excessive sexual urge of the males. There is no limit to the number of wives a man can acquire. Lakkay of Iridi had four wives all living with him and that is the maximum number recorded among the Savaras during the present Survey.

Like any other primitive society of the State, among the Savaras also the following four methods of acquiring spouses are socially accepted.

1. 'Penkui' - Marriage by negotiations and mutual agreement.
2. 'Dingdengboi and Dandaboi' - Marriage by elopement with unmarried women respectively.
3. 'Kinarsung' or 'Illarikam' - Marriage by service.
4. 'Ulaiboi' - Marriage by exchange.

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Marriage by elopement seems to be the most popular method of securing mates as is evident from the particulars of 111 marriages surveyed. Of the 111 marriages recorded as many as 69 spouses are acquired by elopement i.e. 'Dingdengbol' and 'Dandaboi' while 35 marriages are contracted through negotiations (P'aku), 5 marriages are through service (Kinarsung). Only two cases of marriage by exchange (Ulaiboi) are recorded.

Economic considerations are mainly responsible for the less number of marriages through negotiations and the large number of marriages by elopement as the former is very costly involving considerable expenditure on gifts, liquor etc., to would be father-in-law and the ensuing

series of feasts during the marriage ritual while in the latter case besides bride-price, liquor is served only on one occasion, thus involving less expenditure.

It is very interesting to note that among these primitive people, marriage by capture involving the elements of surprise and brute-force is absent. Fawcett, while writing about the Savaras of Kallikota recorded that "the Savaras admit that formerly every one took his wife away by force." Though the capture may be done in a modified form, it seems certain that marriage by capture was a Sora Custom. Dr. Sitapathi, who studied Savaras about 50 years later, mentions that "Marriage by

* The Soras of Madras, Journal of Anthropological Society

capture was probably in vogue in former days. There are only traces of its among the customs of the present day*. Even now the element of capture can be observed in case of marriage by elopement of both types - 'Dingdengboi' and 'Dandaboi'. When a man wishes to bring a girl, he goes with a batch of his friends and relatives and waits at the stream. When the girl comes to the stream to fetch water, she will be physically carried away if she does not heed their request to follow them. Similar is the case with elopement of a married woman.

'Pankui' or Marriage by negotiations is long drawn, time consuming and costly way of acquiring the spouse as it involves a series of formal reciprocal visits and exchange of pots of liquor and other ceremonial gifts over a period of time. The marriage negotiations are initiated by the bride-groom's party consisting the near relatives and elders of the village like 'Gamang', 'Buyya', 'Kudan' and 'Desari'. After securing the consent of the bride's parents, the elders of both parties sit together and decide the amount of bride-price and nature of formal gifts to be exchanged before the actual performance of marriage ceremony is initiated. The elders of the village and the parents of the boy and girl play a leading role in this method in contrast to the major role played by concerned spouses in marriage by elopment. The prominence given to village elders and elderly relatives of

* Soras and their country, J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XII parts 4, page.2.

spouses is sure indication of the subordination of the will and personal opinion of the young to the whims and fancies of the elders. The various stages of marriage celebrations are described in detail in the chapter on life cycle ceremonies. Both child and adult marriages are settled through negotiations.

Marriage by elopement is preceded by a period of courtship and exchange of mutual love among the spouses involved either in the forest or during the agricultural operations in the 'Podu' and flat lands or at the time of visiting weekly shandy. Soon after the girl agrees to marry the boy, he informs his intention to his parents. Marriage by elopement involves an element of capture also as the boy's party enacts mock capture of the girl. Unlike marriage by negotiation, the opinion of the potential spouse is paramount. The ritual of solemnization and the role of elders are quite simple and insignificant as described in the chapter on life cycle ceremonies. Hence it is less costly and more satisfying to the young couple as it provides for both romance and adventure and also a sense of achievement for the newly weds. Perhaps these are the important contributing factors for the high incidence of marriage by elopement among the Savaras. Sometimes married men and women resort to this method (Dandaboi) to secure their second and subsequent spouses if they are dissatisfied with their respective spouses and developed amorous relations with another man or woman.

Marriage by service (Kinarsung) is initiated either by the parents of the girl who have no sons or by the parents of the boy who could not afford to bear even the minimum expenses of marriage by elopement (Dingdengboi), leave alone the costly marriage by negotiations and the ensuing elaborate ritual proceedings. Sometimes when the economic pursuits of a family require more male labour, the family may try to secure the services of a poor young man in lieu of their daughter's hand even though they have sons. But in general marriage by service is not to the liking of the Savara youth as it is below his dignity to undergo the humiliating experience of serving a man just for the sake of securing a wife. Usually a prospective father-in-law prefers to bring either his sister's son or his wife's brother's son when he has no male issues so that the property may not go out of the close kinship circle and the already existing blood ties will be further fortified with affinal ties.

When two families have unmarried son and daughter each they make proposals for marriage by exchange. After the informal consultations, through the 'Gamang' of the village marriage is celebrated at either place according to convenience. Marriage by exchange balances the relation between the two families and in a patrilocal society, like that of Savaras there is little scope for illtreating the wife of either man for fear or retaliation from the other side by way of harrasing the erring husband's sister who is the wife of the victim's brother.

While marriage is the institution on which the superstructure of family is built, divorce drives a wedge in the institution of marriage and is mainly responsible for the ultimate destruction of the superstructure of family. But elopement of married women is not very frequent as the figures indicate that out of the 69 elopement marriages recorded only 4 marriages are due to elopement of a married woman with another man.

Divorce is socially sanctioned among the Savaras. Economic, social and psychological factors mainly contribute to the dissolution of the family. Economic bankruptcy and sexual impotency of the husband and friction in intra-family relations lead to dissatisfaction on the part of woman and the consequent development of amorous relations with another man. But it is imperative on the part of the paramour to pay communal fine or 'Maganali' (Danda) when the woman deserts her husband and elopes with him before their union is to be socially recognised. Neither she nor her later husband has claims over the children born to her through the former husband.

The Elopement of a married woman is sometimes hazardous and even involves the element of capture also. By previous appointment the woman and the man meet at a fixed place with secret arrangements to sneak out of the village. The paramour waits in secret with a band of his friends to assist him in case of an unexpected encounter with the husband of the deserting woman. If the man and

woman are detected in their flight by the husband and his villagers the fleeing man and woman are challenged and a fight follows between the two parties. The woman is detained by the winning party irrespective of her wishes. If the man and woman could successfully evade their detection or capture of the woman by her husband's party and reach the village of her paramour, after three or four days, the former husband goes to the village of his wife's defection, accompanied by his 'Gamang' and other elders of the village. The 'Gamangs' and other elders of both the villages meet and the 'Gamangs' formally enquire from the eloped woman regarding her firm decision to desert her former husband and willingness to live with the man she had eloped with. After eliciting her final decision to live with the man she has eloped with, the 'Gamangs' fix up a date for the payment of the 'Danda'.

On the fixed day, both the sides prepare themselves to meet the other party by mustering as many supporters as possible. Both the parties assemble in their respective villages and after drinking liquor decide the strategy to be adopted at the ensuing meeting in order to ensure an advantageous bargain in the fixation of the 'Danda'. Both parties arm themselves with handsticks, bows and arrows etc. and meet at the selected place which is generally located at the outskirts of the woman's second husband's village. The 'Gamangs' of the two villages lead their respective parties to the fixed place and an interesting and intriguing process of bargaining is set in motion.

The agrieved husband spreads a new cloth on the ground and his 'Garang' asks his counterpart to keep the amount of 'Danda' on the cloth. This culprit initially places about Rs.10/- on the cloth and the other party demands more money. Another rupee is added by the later husband. The whole process of demanding more money and keeping some more rupees continues till the woman's former husband's party is pleased with the final figure of the amount kept on the cloth. Failure to arrive at a mutually agreeable figure leads to a bitter fight between the two parties. After the agreement is reached and when the agreed amount is paid, the contending parties depart to the respective villages and the woman is considered to be the wife of the second man.

The Savara society provides the necessary social mechanism to patch up the rift that had developed between the former and latter husbands of the eloped woman with a view to ensure harmonious relations between the two families and the larger groups villages too. As soon as the woman conceives to her second husband, he performs a ritual to indicate that the former husband has no claims to the neonate and that he (present husband) is the real biological and sociological father. On an auspicious day, the former husband is invited and presented with a new pair of clothes by her present husband. Both of them eat in the same plate signifying the end of all animosity between the two men and from that time onwards the former husband has no claim to the progeny of the new couple.

It is interesting to note that various customs of marriage provide ample scope for every individual, either rich or poor to acquire a suitable mate without which a man or woman is not considered to be fullfledged member of the Savara Society. A Savara is thus not only assured of a family of origin but also a family of procreation.

Among Savaras family plays a key role unlike the other tribal groups of the region in view of the absence of the usual exogamous clans. This single unit of their social structure thus constitutes the nucleus and hub of their social life. Family is patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal. Husband is the head of the family and he is mainly responsible for the proper maintenance of the family. But wife plays no less an important role. Besides looking after children and household chores, she also assists the husband in the family pursuits and in the successful performance of social and religious ceremonies of the family.

Most of the families are monogamous. Even though polygyny is in vogue, polygynous families are limited in number. A majority of these monogamous families are nuclear families. Of the 100 families for which information is collected 84 are nuclear families and the rest are joint families. The nuclear families consist of husband and wife and their off-spring with the size of the family varying from four to five members.

Savaras family is easily susceptible to disruption as wife and husband are equally at liberty to seek divorce if either of the two do not wish to continue as wife and husband. Matrilocal residence is also met with though very rarely as marriage by service is socially sanctioned and resorted to by some of the poor Savara youth.

The few joint families recorded are held together for the time being due to certain domestic reasons. The prevalence of a large number of nuclear families is to be attributed to the fact that the Savaras usually effect separation (Begada) as soon as a son gets married and brings his wife home. In certain cases the married son may continue to stay with his parents, until he is blessed with a child. Sometimes the married sons remain in the parental house until all the other brothers and sisters are married. The responsibility of the eldest married son increases if the parents are dead. The married brothers generally live together till all the brothers are married and individual houses are constructed for them. In some cases when one of the married brothers desires to establish a separate household even before his other siblings are married, the partition is effected and the unmarried siblings stay with the elder brother. When the married sons wish to separate before the remaining siblings are married, the unmarried siblings remain with their parents. But the separated families do not completely sever all their social and economic relations and

certain features characteristic of a joint family are still retained. The construction of independent houses for each of the married sons is the joint responsibility of the whole family. The houses of separated sons and parents are constructed close to each other and the bonds of kinship continue to hold fast as sons and parents still extend to each other reciprocal assistance in their social, economic and religious spheres of life. If an individual family is not in a position to undertake certain agricultural operations or family pursuits, the other brothers and parents readily co-operate for the successful completion of the work and vice-versa. Some of the religious and social functions are also jointly performed by the siblings's families. For instance, all the brothers offer corporate worship and sacrifice to please the spirits of their common ancestors. They may even conjointly name their children on the same occasion. In general, in the family life of Savaras, blood relatives play a more dominant role than the affinal relatives. Even though the latter category relatives have specific roles in their religious and social functions yet they are not so intimate and frequent like those of the blood relatives.

Every member of a Savara family is an economic unit. From a child of ten years to an old man of 60 years or even more each member contributes for the maintenance of the family. The contribution of each member of the family to the corporate activity of the family is mainly conditioned

by age and sex of the member. Heavy and strenuous works like ploughing fields, broadcasting seeds in tilled lands, hunting wild animals with bows and arrows, securing wooden rafters and other construction material like thatch, bunding and terracing fields, making ploughs, yokes and other agricultural implements and window and door frames are undertaken by the adult male members. Besides cooking food, cleaning and plastering the house and the cattleshed and fetching water, elderly women of the family also specialise in weeding fields, fetching firewood from the forests and collecting other minor forest produce like 'adda' leave, myrobalans, tamarind, broom-sticks etc. Women also help their husbands in dibbling and planting vegetable seeds and seedlings in the 'Podu' fields and kitchen gardens, harvesting the various crops and by carrying mid-day meals to the fields where the male members are working. Looking after infants is mainly the responsibility of house wife. Children above 10 years assist the parents in the various agricultural operations and household chores also. While grown up boys assist their fathers in tending the cattle and doing minor agricultural works, the grown up girls lend a helping hand to their mother in cooking, cleaning and plastering the house and by looking after the younger children when the parents go out for work. Both boys and girls help their parents in agricultural operations besides collecting nohua flowers, tamarind, 'Adda' leaves etc. from the forest. As

these children attain adult hood, the boys try to learn ploughing, hunting and other manly pursuits from their father and emulate him in every sphere of activity whereas the girls grow up in the footsteps of their hardworking mother and by the time of puberty they will be well versed both in household chores, rearing children and family pursuits in the agricultural field and the forest. Thus a Savara girl blossoms into a hard-working and industrious woman.

Unlike the women in other tribal societies with the exception of Samantha women, Savara women are given much importance in the social, economic and ritual life though they are not entitled for a share in the family property. A Savara woman is permitted to play her due ritual role in the performance of social and religious ceremonies except during periods of delivery and monthly menstruation when she is not even allowed to enter the house as they are afraid of the evil consequences of these periods of pollution. It is the duty of woman to clean and plaster the place where the deities are propitiated and supply all the requirements for the proper propitiation. A woman carries the sacred pot containing food and other offerings to the spirits of the deceased ancestors during some of the rituals when memorial service is offered to the ancestors. But at the time of offering ceremonial sacrifice, they play a restricted role. While women are allowed to be present at the time of sacrificing the fowl,

they are not permitted to see a buffalo sacrifice. They are also allowed to participate in the chanting of hymns on ceremonial occasions.

Both young and old women are free to sleep on cots. Even in the presence of elderly males, sitting or sleeping on cots by women is not objected to. No food taboos are imposed upon Savara women. Even drinking liquor is not prohibited. But usually girls and young women do not drink liquor except on festive occasions while old women take liquor frequently.

Diagnosis and treatment of certain ailments are entrusted to 'Kudanboi' Savara medicine woman. She is the counterpart of the male 'Kudan', one of the religious functionaries. Besides conducting deliveries, 'Kundaboi' is also trained in sooth saying. In the treatment of diseases magical charms are also employed by her.

The all pervasive role of a Savara woman in her family life definitely indicates that the Savaras regard woman as a voluntary family asset dispelling the main notion that woman in Indian society, especially in the tribal society is a perpetual slave of the man. As women is the cherished possession of a Savara man, any abuse or obscene act directed against their women evokes violent reaction from the menfolk. Some times women themselves may punish the culprit. According to a story current in the Parvathipur agency, a Savara woman

had beaten to death with her brass bangles when a man tried to molest her. The only disability from which woman suffer is the denial of a share in the family property. But even non-possession of property rights can not be construed as serious disability since after her marriage the husband's property is equally enjoyed by both the spouses and they conjointly strive to improve it so that their progeny may have enough to start with. Thus the position of Savara women is quite respectable and in no way inferior to that of man.

A Savara family is generally poor and the parents do not possess any valuable assets to pass on to their progeny. At the time of separation the whole family property is equally shared by brothers and parents, if the latter are alive. Assets as well as debts are equally shared by them. The parents establish a separate household if they take a share in the property. If a share is not claimed by them and prefer to live with one of their sons, the maintenance of the parents is the common responsibility of all the sons. All of them contribute their share of food grains for the maintenance of the aged parents. Ancestral lands and other assets are equally divided and unlike the plains people, the eldest son is generally asked to choose his share of the property first. The establishment of separate households and the division of property need not necessarily lead to the demarcation of their respective

plots by laying bunds. They may or may not make bunds.

Generally certain stones are marked as indicative of their individual plots. The personal assets of a woman such as the few gold and silver ornaments and the clothes are either passed on to the daughters or daughters-in-law. The unmarried girls and boys may either be tagged on to their parents or to any one of their married brothers. The unmarried girls are not a burden to any one as their services are useful both in the field and at home. Further, no money need be paid to get them married. Moreover, the unmarried girl is a potential bride who fetches bride price to her parents or guardians. Hence, an unmarried girl is a welcome addition to any Savara Family.

The large number of endogamous sub-groups distributed in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh and the absence of clan organisation among some sections of the Savaras of Andhra Pradesh, the adoption of the Sur-names of plains Andhras and Jatapu neighbours by some of Kapu Savaras, the protection afforded to the aged parents, unmarried girls and boys and the specific roles and respectable position enjoyed by Savara women are the unique features of Savara social organisation that distinguish it from the social organisation of other tribal groups.

K I N S H I P

The Savara kinship terminology is mostly classificatory, though a few of their kinship terms are descriptive. The kinship terms of the Savaras are given in a table in appendix to this Chapter.

The terms of kinship applicable to relatives, consanguineous and affinal, are strikingly the same. The term 'Jojong' is used for ones (1) Father's father, 2) Father's Father's brother 3) Mother's father, 4) Mother's father's brother 5) Father's maternal uncle, 6) Mother's maternal uncle 7) Father's Father's maternal uncle's son 8) Mother's father's maternal uncle 9) Father's Father's paternal aunt's son 10) Spouse's Mother's father 11) Spouse's father's father 12) Father's father's sister's husband and 13) Mother's father's sister's husband. All the male grand parents of the speaker both from the maternal and paternal side are classified by the only term 'Jojong'.

The term 'Yoyong' indicates the relationship between the speaker and his or her (1) Father's mother 2) Father's mother's sister 3) Mother's mother 4) Mother's mother's sister 5) Father's father's maternal uncle's

daughter 6) Mother's father's maternal uncle's daughter
7) Father's father's paternal aunt's daughter 8) Mother's
father's paternal aunt's daughter 9) Father's father's
sister 10) Mother's father's sister 11) Spouse's father's
mother and 12) Spouse's mother's mother. All the female
relatives of the third generation above the speaker are
indicated by the term 'Yoyong'. The collateral and the
lineal relatives are not kept distinct, but they are
merged together and a single kinship term expresses the
relationship..

According to S.C.Roy, "The fundamental feature of
this system (Classificatory) is, broadly speaking, the
applications of the same kinship form in addressing most,
though not all, persons of the same generation and sex",
(1915:345). This is amply illustrated by the two terms
'Jojong' and 'Yoyong' which apply to all male and female
relatives respectively of the same generation and sex. The
following are the other classificatory terms in the
Savara kinship terminology. The term 'Dadda' is applied
to one's 1) Father's younger brother 2) Mother's sister's
husband 3) Spouse's mother's brother 4) Step father and
5) Spouse's paternal aunt's husband. In the same way,
the ego's 1) Mother's sister 2) Father's brother's wife
3) Spouse's father's sister 4) Step mother and 5) Spouse's
mother's brother's wife are indicated by the term 'Yayang'
when younger than the ego's mother and 'Attele' when elder

than her. The term 'Manang' indicates the relationship of the Ego with his or her (1) Spouse's father (2) Mother's brother (3) Brother's or sister's father-in-law and (4) Father's sister's husband.

The term 'Avong' is applied to the relationship between the Ego and his or her (1) Spouse's mother (2) Father's sister (3) Mother's brother's wife and (4) Brother's or sister's mother-in-law.

Dr.W.H.R.Rivers had proved that the birth of kinship terms was antecedent to social functions. The two terms 'Manang' and 'Avong' clearly explain the social function among the Savaras. The custom of symmetric cross cousin marriage is very much prevalent among the Savaras. It has been found, as described in the chapters on social organisation and phases of life to be the most prevalent form of marriage among the Savaras of Palakonda, Pathapatnam and Sompeta taluks. One's father's sister and mother's brother are the potential mother-in-law and father-in-law respectively. So a single term is applied to the two relationships. Even when the Ego is married to a girl other than his cross-cousin, the same terms of relationships is applied to his maternal uncle and paternal aunt.

The kinship term 'Mossil' is applied to the relationship of the Ego with his (1) Father's sister's daughter 2) Mother's brother's daughter 3) Mother's brother's

son's daughter 4) Father's sister's son's daughter
5) Elder sister's daughter 6) Younger sister's daughter
and 7) Spouse's brother's daughter.

The kinship term 'Mossil' clearly explains its social function in cross-cousin marriage and uncle-niece marriage. All the above seven types of relatives stand as potential mates to the speaker and hence only a single term has been used. Though, generally, Savaras do not marry one's sister's daughter, it is not taboo. Hence the application of the same term. It should also be noted that the term 'Mossil' applies to persons of two generations-Ego's (1) Maternal uncle's daughter and paternal aunt's daughter and 2) Maternal uncle's son's daughter, paternal aunt's son's daughter and spouse's brother's daughter.

The term denotes the relationship between a woman and her (1) Father's sister's daughter and (2) Mother's brother's daughter, all of whom her brother can marry.

The use of an identical term for one's father's sister, mother's brother's wife, and wife's mother and also the usage of the same term for one's wife's brother, mother's brother's son, and father's sister's son, strengthen the social functions of these terms in the said type of marriage practices.

The practice of marriage by exchange can be deducted from the use of the identical kinship terms for a particular set of relatives as indicated here. (1) Father's

sister and Mother's brother's wife (2) Father's younger brother and mother's younger sister's husband. (2) Father's sister's husband and mother's brother.

The term 'Kakun' is applied to the relationship between the Ego and his or her (1) Elder brother 2) Father's brother's son 3) Mother's sister's son 4) Father's sister's daughter's husband when they are elder than the speaker.

In the same way 'Ubbang' indicates the relationship of the Ego with his or her (1) Younger brother 2) Father's brother's son 3) Mother's sister's son 4) Father's sister's daughter's husband and 5) Mother's brother's daughter's husband when they are younger than him or her.

A man refers to his wife's sister's husband as 'Saddu' and the woman refers to her husband's sister's husband either as 'Kakun' if he is elder to her or as 'Ubbang' if he is younger than her.

The term 'Kakoeng' indicates the relationship of the Ego with his or her (1) sister, 2) Father's brother's daughter 3) Mother's sister's daughter 4) Spouse's brother's wife, if elder to the Ego.

In the same way, 'Ayeeng' is applied to the relationship of the Ego with his or her (1) Sister 2) Father's brother's daughter 3) Mother's sister's daughter 4) Father's sister's son's wife 5) Mother's brother's son's wife and 6) Spouse's brother's wife, if they are younger than the speaker.

The term 'Bavung' indicates the kinship ties between the Ego and his or her (1) Spouse's elder brother 2) Spouse's younger brother 3) Elder sister's husband 4) Younger sister's husband 5) Father's sister's son 6) Mother's brother's son. It should be noted that the age of the addressee is ignored in the usage of this kinship term.

A Savara refers to his spouse's elder sister as 'Kinar' and his elder brother's wife as 'bonni'. Though the two women stand in equal relationship to the speaker, two distinct terms are used for them. The speaker is expected to or may marry his deceased elder brother's wife but he is prohibited from marrying his wife's elder sister. Hence two distinct terms are applied to signify their social function. Such type of kinship terms are to be found among the communities practising junior levirate marriages.

The terms 'Erriboi' and 'Koina' indicate the relationship of the Ego with his (1) Spouse's younger sister and 2) Younger brother's wife respectively. The use of two distinct terms to persons standing in the same relationship explain social custom of sororate marriages among the Savaras. A Savara, is permitted to marry his wife's younger sister either as a second wife or on the death of his wife. But he is prohibited from marrying his younger brother's wife.

A man refers to his (1) son 2) brother's son 3) Spouse's sister's son 4) Mother's brother's daughter's son 5) Father's sister's daughter's son and 6) Sister's daughter's husband as 'Oon'.

A woman refers to her (1) son 2) elder sister's son 3) Younger sister's son 4) Spouse's brother's son 5) Mother's brother's son's son 6) Father's sister's son's son and 7) Brother's daughter's husband as 'Oon'.

The extensive application of the term 'Oon' shows the classificatory nature of the Savara kinship terms.

A woman addresses her (1) Brother's son 2) Spouse's sister's son 3) Mother's brother's daughter's son and 4) Father's sister's daughter's son as 'Mossi'.

In the same way a man refers to his (1) Elder sister's son 2) Younger sister's son 3) Spouse's brother's son 4) Mother's brother's son's son and 5) Father's sister's son's son as 'Mossi'.

The terms Enselon and 'Dangidi Oon' indicate (1) One's daughter 2) Brother's daughter 3) Mother's brother's daughter's daughter 4) Father's sister's daughter's daughter 5) Spouse's sister's daughter and 6) Sister's son's wife.

The same term indicates the relationship of a woman with her (1) daughter 2) Sister's (Elder and younger) daughter 3) Mother's brother's son's daughter 4) Father's sister's son's daughter 5) Spouse's brother's daughter and 6) Brother's son's wife.

The term efor one's daughter's husband is 'Reyang'. The same term is applied by a man to his brother's daughter's husband. A woman also addresses her sister's daughter's husband by the same term.

The term for Ego's son's wife is 'Koyeeng'. The same term is applied by a man to his brother's son's wife and by a woman to her sister's son's wife.

The term 'Ullong' refers to the kinship ties of a Ego and his or her (1) Son's son 2) Daughter's son 3) Brother's son's son 4) Brother's daughter's son 5) Sister's son's son 6) Sister's daughter's son 7) Daughter's husband 8) Son's daughter's husband 9) Daughter's daughter 10) Brother's son's daughter 11) Brother's daughter's daughter 12) Sister's son's daughter 13) Sister's daughter's daughter 14) Son's daughter 15) Son's son's wife and 16) Daughter's son's wife.

Though the whole cluster or group of relatives are of the same generation, they belonged to different sexes. Here a distinction is not made between the grand daughters and grand-sons.

In spite of the fact that most of the Savara Kinship terms are classificatory, a few descriptive terms are also noticed. The following are a few such terms:

Father	=	'Vang'
Mother	=	'Yeng'
Wife	=	'Dukkiri'
Husband	=	'Ammonla'
Father's elder brother	≠	'Thatha'
Wife's sister's husband	=	'Saddu'
Elder brother's wife	=	'Bonni'
Younger brother's wife	=	'Koina'
Wife's elder sister	=	'Kinar'
Wife's younger sister	=	'Erriboi'

The Savaras seem to have borrowed some of the kinship terms from the neighbouring groups like Oriyas and Telugus. They are:

'Saddu from Telugu Shaddakudu or Sanskrit Shadraka

Bavung from Telugu Bava

Manang from Telugu Mana

Bonni from Oriya Bov

Mossil from Oriya Mossil

Some of the borrowed kinship terms have different social usages among the people who originally speak and the people who borrowed it. The term 'Mossil' in Oriya means 'Mother-in-Law' and among Savaras the term refers to Father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter. Along with the usage, the social function also changes. Oriya are prohibited from marrying their 'Mossil' whereas a Savara can marry his 'Mossil'.

The classificatory nature of the Savara kinship terminology has been shown by analysing the Savara kinship terms and listing the number of relationships to which a kinship term applies. It has been found that relationship is traced not between individuals but between groups of individuals.

Prof. Kroeber formulated certain criteria of distinction implied in kinship terminologies. They are eight in number and run as follows:-

- 1) Recognition of distinction between persons of the same and of separate generations.

- 2) Maintenance of difference between lineal and collateral relatives.
- 3) Recognition of difference of age within the same generation.
- 4) Discrimination of sex of the relatives
- 5) Recognition of the sex of the speaker
- 6) Recognition of the sex of the person through whom relationship is traced.
- 7) Distinction of blood relatives from affinal relatives
- 8) Recognition of the condition of life of person (dead or alive, married or unmarried) through whom relationship exists.

In the following paragraphs, the Savara kinship terms will be subjected to analysis with reference to the above determinants of kinship and will be seen how far the Savara kinship terminologies confirm to the above criteria.

1. Generation difference:

Generally almost all the kinship terms make a distinction between persons belonging to different generations. But the same term 'Mossil' is applied to persons belonging to two different generations (1) Maternal Uncle's daughter and paternal aunt's daughter and (2) Maternal uncle's son's daughter and paternal aunt's son's daughter and spouse's brother's daughter.

2. Difference between lineal and collateral relatives:

A distinction is made between the lineal relatives—parents (father and mother) and the classificatory brothers of the father and the classificatory sisters of the mother in the first ascending generation. Mother and father are referred to as 'Yeng' and 'Vang' respectively. But the classificatory brothers of the father are referred to by the terms 'Thatha' and 'Dadda', when they are elder and younger to the father respectively. The classificatory sister's of the mother are referred to by the terms 'Attele' and 'Yayang' when they are elder and younger to her respectively. No distinction has been made between 'Ego's father's own and classificatory brothers.

Such distinction is not made in case of own brothers and own sisters and the classificatory brothers and sisters respectively. A few other terms also apply to lineal and collateral relatives as well.

3. Recognition of age difference within the same generation:

The Savara kinship terminology generally recognises age difference within the same generation. Age differentiation between the Ego (Speaker) and the addressee and the Ego and that of the linked relative is given recognition. Such age differentiation within the same generation is recognised in the 'Ego's generation and in the first ascending generation only.

The terms 'Kakun' and 'Ubbang' refer to the relationship of the Ego to his, lineal and classificatory, elder and younger brothers respectively.

The terms 'Kakceng' and 'Ayeeng' refer to the relationship of the Ego to his lineal and classificatory, elder and younger sisters respectively.

The Ego's elder brother's wife, younger brother's wife, Wife's elder sister and younger sister are referred by the terms 'Bonni' and 'Koina', 'Kinarbee' and 'Erriboi' respectively. Such age difference has not been recognised in case of terms 'Bavung' and 'Mossil'. All these terms are applicable to the relatives of the Ego's generations.

In the first ascending generation, the Ego's father's elder brother and the younger brother and his classificatory brothers are referred to by the terms 'Thatha' and 'Dadda' respectively. So also, the Ego's mother's elder sister and her younger sister and her classificatory sisters are referred to by the terms 'Attele' and 'Yayang' respectively.

Recognition of age difference within the same generation is not given to the terms applicable to the relationship of the Ego and his relatives in the second ascending generation and the first and second descending generations.

The terms 'Jojong' and 'Yoyong' refer to all grandfathers and grand-mothers respectively. In the same way, the terms 'Oon', 'Dangidi' 'Oon', 'Yayang' and 'Koyeeng' are applied to one's sons, daughters, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, lineal and classificatory, respectively.

The term 'Ulleng' is applied to all the Ego's relatives in the second descending generation.

4. Descrimination of sex of the relatives:

Generally, the Savara kinship terms are applied to descriminate the sex of the relative in all cases, excepting the second descending generations.

Their terms 'Yoyong' and 'Jojong' are applied to grand-mothers and grand-fathers.

'Vang' and 'Yeng' are the terms for father and mother.

'Attele' is the term for mother's elder sister and father's elder brother's wife and 'Thatha' is the term for father's brother.

In the same way, 'Dadda' is applicable to father's own and classificatory younger brothers and 'Yayang' is applicable to mother's own and classificatory younger sisters.

The term 'Manang' is applicable to the 'Ego's relationship with his spouse's father, mother's brother, father's sister's husband and 'Avong' is applicable to spouse's mother, father's sister, Mother's brother's wife.

Sons and daughters, lineal and classificatory are referred to as 'Oon' and 'Dangidi' 'Oon' respectively.

In the same way, 'Mossil' and 'Mossi' are applicable to a man's sister's daughter and sister's son respectively and to that of a woman's brother's daughter and son respectively. But no such discrimination of sex of the relative is made in the application of the term 'Ulleng'. All the

grand children, grand sons and grand daughters lineal and classificatory are grouped into one class and are referred to by the term 'Ulleng'.

5. Recognition of sex of the Speaker:

The Savara kinship terms bear testimony to the fact that they indicate the sex of the speaker. A man refers to his spouse's sister's husband as 'Saddu' whereas a woman refers to her husband's sister's husband as 'Kakun' or 'Ubbangi'.

A man refers to his wife's elder and younger sisters by the terms 'Kinar (bee) and 'Erriboi' respectively. But a woman refers to her husband's elder and younger sister as 'Yayang'.

Similarly a man and woman refer to his or her
(1) Brother's son 2) Spouse's sister's son 3) Mother's brother's daughter's son 4) Father's sister's daughter's son as 'Oon' and 'Mossi' respectively.

So a woman and a man call her or his (1) Sister's son 2) Spouse's brother's son 3) Mother's brother's son 4) Father's sister's son's son as 'Oon' and 'Mossi' respectively.

The woman and man apply different terms to their brother's and sister's daughters.

A man refers to the father-in-law of his son or daughter as 'Bavung' whereas a woman refers to as 'Kakun'.

A woman calls her brother's daughter's husband as 'Oon' and sister's daughter's husband as 'Yayang' whereas the relationship is reversed in the case of male speaker.

A man refers to his brother's son's wife as 'Koyeeng' and a woman refers to her brother's son's wife as 'Dangidi' 'Oon'.

6. Sex of the person through whom relationship exists:

In the second ascending generation, and the second descending generation, no distinction is made between persons related through mother and father and sons and daughters of the Ego. Both maternal and paternal grand-mothers and grand-fathers are referred to as 'Yoyong' and 'Jojong' respectively. So is the case with grand-sons and grand-daughters of the Ego. Both son's sons and daughters and daughter's sons and daughters are called 'Ulleng'.

Mother's brother and Father's brother are called by different terms in the 1st ascending generation.

But in the Ego's generation, a distinction is made in certain cases. For example, a man's brother's son is referred as 'Oon', his sister's son as 'Mossi' so as a woman refers to her sister's son as 'Oon' and brother's son as 'Mossi'.

7. Distinction of Blood relatives from relatives connected by marriage:

A few Savara kinship terms distinguish between consanguineous and affinal relatives by the application of different terms.

'Vang' and 'Mamang' are the terms for father and father-in-law and 'Yeng' and 'Avong' for the mother and mother-in-law.

Similarly, 'Kakun' and 'Kakeeng' are the terms for one's brother and sister whereas 'Bavung' and 'Kinarbee' or 'Erriboi' are applied for his wife's brother and sister respectively.

8. Recognition of condition of life of person (dead or alive, married or un-married) through whom the relationship exists:

This criterion of distinction is not found in the Savara kinship terminology.

KINSHIP USAGE:

The kinship terms recognize the relationship between persons and establish set patterns of mutual behaviour. A person is expected to show the same type of behaviour pattern towards all his relatives whom he refers to by a single term. For example, a man is expected to respect his father's younger brother and all other classificatory relatives referred by him as 'Dadda'.

The kinship terms reflect the regulations regarding matrimonial alliances among the Savaras. The kinship terms play an important role in this aspect of Savara social life since the traditional Savara social organisation is conspicuous by the absence of the clan organisation for the regulation of marriage relations. A Savara looks for a spouse in the family of his mother's brother or father's sister, own or classificatory. Thus a wide choice is given to him/her for the selection of his/her spouse from the real or

classificatory sons and daughters of his/her mother's brother and father's sister respectively. The terms of kinship help us determine the normal and incestuous sex relations. The sexual relations of a Savara with any of his 'Mossil' are not incestuous even though it is against their social code of conduct. But his sexual relations with his 'Kakeeng' (sister) or 'Attele' are incestuous. What is considered as incestuous in one society may not be so in another. The sexual relations of a man with his wife's sister among certain Indian castes though socially disapproved is not incestuous. An Englishman's sexual relations with his wife's sister are considered incestuous. Their kinship terms explain their social law. The word for wife's sister is sister-in-law. Here the accent is on 'Sister', so she is considered equivalent to one's own sister and so sexual relations with her are incestuous. But among the Savaras a union between a man and his elder brother's wife are not incestuous. He can marry his deceased elder brother's wife. All the kins folk ties known by the same term are of the same nature in determining the incestuous or normal sexual relationships.

MUTUAL AVOIDANCE:

The Savara custom enforces strict restrictions on the behaviour patterns of certain types of relatives towards each other. Such relatives are not expected to all each other by name. They should not come into close physical contact. Sexual intercourse between such relatives will not be tolerated by tribal law and ethics.

By custom, a man and his wife's elder sister are expected to avoid each other. This restriction has a social function. A man is prohibited from marrying his wife's elder sister.

Such a taboo covers the behaviour of a man towards his younger brother's wife and of a woman with her husband's elder brother. Marriage, of any kind, is prohibited among these sets of relatives.

Both these sets of relatives should not come into close physical contact. They should not be found alone in a room. They should not call each other by name. A man should not talk to his younger brother's wife in the absence of his brother. A man should not reveal or utter the name of his wife's elder sister but he is free to reveal the names of his wife's younger sister and elder brother's wife. His wife's elder sister and younger brother's wife may serve him food in the absence of other people in the house to do the same. But she is expected to serve the food and keep away from that place. She may clean the remainings but is prohibited from serving the food in his presence. But no such taboo exists between a man and his (1) Wife's younger sister and (2) elder brother's wife, whom he can marry through sororate and levirate marriages. Such marriages are sanctioned by Savara custom. Similar is the case with a woman and her (1) husband's younger brother and (2) elder sister's husband, both of whom are her potential spouses.

Contrary to the custom of mutual avoidance is the practice of joking relationship - where certain sets of relatives are given social sanction to indulge in jest and banter. Such privileged familiarity is permitted between such sets of people between whom marriage is sanctioned by tribal custom.

Such joking relationships exist between a man and his (1) elder brother's wife 2) Wife's younger sister and 3) Mossil. The Savara custom permits marriage between these sets of people and hence the privileged familiarity.

TEKNONYMY: The practice of addressing the spouse (or other relative) through a child was first interpreted by Tylor. He alone coined the term 'Teknonymy to indicate this curious custom.

The wife and husband do not call each other by name. He generally refers to his wife as 'Buda-na-yeng' literally meaning 'Mother of Buda', Buda being the name of their son. Similarly, a woman refers to her husband as 'Buda-na-vangjai' literally meaning 'father of Buda', Buda being the name of their son. When the couple do not have any children, they simply refer to each other as 'Jaandi' literally meaning 'come here'. They do not address people elder to them by name. They suffix the word 'Jai' to the respective kinship term while addressing the elderly people.

ETIQUETTE:

There are no set patterns for salutations and greetings among the Savaras. A son does not greet his father

or mother. When two Savaras meet one of them asks 'Asukkoji-pong' literally meaning "Are all of you quite well?" "Vanaithe Vojerjanithe", meaning to "which/^{village} are you going?". The other man replies "B ongsa asukkoji Kallitinitte" the meaning being "we are all quite well. I am going to Kalliti", Kalliti being the name of a village.

When a relative arrives, one of the family members receives him saying "Asukkojipong Manang ajungna danothethan" meaning "are all of you quite well, father-in-law Have a wash, I shall give you water". The term of address varies according to the relationship between the guest and the person inviting him. The guest replies "Kudubla asukkoji" meaning "all are quite well".

THE SAVARA KINSHIP TERMS

Sl.No.	Description of person	Relationship term in Savara language	
		Male speaking	Female speaking
1	2'	3	4
1.	Father's father	Jojong	Jojong
2.	Father's Father's brother	-do-	-do-
3.	Mother's father	-do-	-do-
4.	Mother's father's brother	-do-	-do-
5.	Father's maternal uncle	-do-	-do-
6.	Mother's maternal uncle	-do-	-do-
7.	Father's father's maternal uncle's son.	-do-	-do-
8.	Mother's father's maternal uncle's son.	-do-	-do-
9.	Father's father's paternal aunt's son.	-do-	-do-
10.	Mother's father's paternal aunt's son.	-do-	-do-
11.	Spouse's mother's father	-do-	-do-
12.	Spouse's father's father	-do-	-do-
13.	Father's father's sister's husband.	-do-	-do-
14.	Mother's father's sister's husband.	-do-	-do-
15.	Father's mother	Yoyong	Yoyong
16.	Father's mother's sister	-do-	-do-
17.	Mother's mother	-do-	-do-
18.	Mother's mother's sister	-do-	-do-
19.	Father's maternal aunt	-do-	-do-
20.	Mother's maternal aunt	-do-	-do-
21.	Father's father's maternal uncle's daughter.	-do-	-do-
22.	Mother's father's paternal uncle's daughter.	-do-	-do-
23.	Father's father's paternal aunt's daughter.	-do-	-do-
24.	Mother's father's paternal aunt's daughter.	-do-	-do-

1	2	3	4
25.	Father's father's sister	Yoyong	Yoyong
26.	Mother's father's sister	-do-	-do-
27.	Spouse's a) Father's mother	-do-	-do-
	b) Mother's mother	-do-	-do-
28.	Father	(Vang) Babang	(Vang) Babang
29.	Father's brother Elder	Thatha	Thatha
	Younger	Dadda	Dadda
30.	Mother's sister's husband	Dadda	Dadda
31.	Mother's brother (Elder or younger)	Manang	Manang
32.	Spouse's father	-do-	-do-
33.	Brother's or sister's father-in-law.	-do-	-do-
34.	Father's sister's husband	-do-	-do-
35.	Spouse's mother's brother	Dadda	Dadda
36.	Mother	Yeng	Yeng
37.	Step Mother	Yayang	Yayang
38.	Mother's sister Elder	Attele	Attele
	Younger	Yayang	Yayang
39.	Father's brother's wife Elder	Attele	Attele
	Younger	Yayang	Yayang
40.	Step Father	Thatha (Elder to father)	Thatha
41.	Father's sister	Mani or Avong	Avong
42.	Mother's brother's wife	-do-	-do-
43.	Spouse's mother	-do-	-do-
44.	Spouse's father's sister	Yayang	Yayang
45.	Brother's or sister's mother-in-law.	Avong	Avong
46.	Brother Elder	Kakun	Kakun
	Younger	Ubbang	Ubbang
47.	Father's father's son Elder	Kakun	Kakun
	Younger	Ubbang	Ubbang

1	2	3	4
48.	Mother's sister's son		
	Elder	Kakun	Kakun
	Younger	Ubbang	Ubbang
49.	Mother's brother's son	Bavung	Bavung
50.	Father's sister's daughter's		
	Husband Elder	Kakun	Kakun
	Younger	Ubbang	Ubbang
51.	Mother's brother's daughter's		
	Husband Elder	Kakun	Kakun
	Younger	Ubbang	Ubbang
52.	Spouse's sister's husband	Saddu	Kakun or Ubbang
53.	Spouse's elder brother	Bavung	Bavung
54.	Spouse's younger brother	Bavung	Bavung
55.	Elder sister's husband	-do-	-do-
56.	Younger sister's husband	-do-	-do-
57.	Spouse	Dukkiri	Armonea
58.	Father-in-law of son or	Bavung	Bavung
	daughter.		
59.	Sister		
	Elder	Kakeeng	Kakeeng
	Younger	Ayeeng	Ayeeng
60.	Father's brother's daughter		
	Elder	Kakeeng	Kakeeng
	Younger	Ayeeng	Ayeeng
61.	Mother's sister's daughter		
	Elder	Kakeeng	Kakeeng
	Younger	Ayeeng	Ayeeng
62.	Father's sister's daughter	Mossil	Banni
63.	Mother's brother's daughter	-do-	-do-
64.	Mother's brother's son's wife		
	Younger	Ayeeng	Ayeeng
	Elder	Kakeeng	Kakeeng

1	2	3	4
65.	Spouse's brother's wife		
	Younger	Ayeeng	Ayeeng
	Elder	Kakeeng	Kakeeng
66.	Spouse's sister		
	Younger	Kakeeng	Kakeeng
	Elder	Ayeeng or Erriboi	Ayeeng
67.	Elder brother's wife	Bonni	Bonni
68.	Younger brother's wife	Koina	Koina
69.	Mother-in-law of son or daughter		
	Younger	Ayeeng	Bonni
	Elder	Kakeeng	do
70.	Son	Oon	Oon
71.	Brother's son	-do-	Mossi
72.	Spouse's sister's son	-do-	Mossi
73.	Mother's brother's daughter's son	-do-	-do-
74.	Father's sister's daughter's son	-do-	-do-
75.	Elder sister's son	Mossi	Oon
76.	Younger sister's son	-do-	-do-
77.	Spouse's brother's son	-do-	-do-
78.	Mother's brother's son's son	-do-	-do-
79.	Father's sister's son's son	-do-	-do-
80.	Son-in-law	Reyang	Reyang
81.	Brother's daughter's husband	-do-	-do-
82.	Sister's daughter's husband	Oon	Reyang
83.	Daughter	Enselon or Dangidi Oon	Enselon or Dangidi Oon
84.	Brother's daughter	-do-	-do-
85.	Mother's brother's daughter's daughter.	-do-	-do-
86.	Father's sister's daughter's daughter.	Dangidi Oon	Mossil
87.	Mother's brother's son's daughter.	Mossil	Dangidi
88.	Father's sister's son's daughter.	-do-	-do-

1	2	3	4
89. Elder sister's daughter		Mossil	Dangidi
90. Younger sister's daughter		-do-	-do-
91. Spouse's brother's daughter		-do-	-do-
92. Spouse's sister's daughter		Dangidi Oon	Mossil
93. Son's wife		Koyeeng	Koyeeng
94. Sister's son's wife		Dangidi Oon	-do-
95. Brother's son's wife		Koyeeng	Dangidi
96. Son's son		Ulleng	Ulleng
97. Daughter's son		-do-	-do-
98. Brother's son's son		-do-	-do-
99. Brother's daughter's son		-do-	-do-
100. Sister's son's son		-do-	-do-
101. Sister's daughter's son		-do-	-do-
102. Son's daughter		-do-	-do-
103. Daughter's daughter		-do-	-do-
104. Brother's son's daughter		-do-	-do-
105. Brother's daughter's daughter		-do-	-do-
106. Sister's son's daughter		-do-	-do-
107. Sister's daughter's daughter		-do-	-do-
108. Son's son's wife		-do-	-do-
109. Daughter's son's wife		-do-	-do-
110. Father's Sister's son		Bavung	Bavung

LIFE CYCLE CEREMONIES

FOR any observer of human behaviour and group interaction, the study of life cycle ceremonies pays rich dividends. From the modern western societies to the primitive tribal societies, the performance of these crisis-rites is universal and they differ only in detail from one culture to the other. Hence the study of any Society is not complete without a study of the 'Rites-de-passage'.

Many anthropologists viewed that the function of the various life cycle ceremonies is to effect a frictionless change over from one stage of a man's life to the other. While the distinguished French anthropologist, Van Gannef observed that the rites of passage to be the devices with which an individual is incorporated in a particular stage of life, a restorative function as these ceremonies bring equilibrium to the disturbed moral sentiments that are the products of the changes in the social life of the group. The function of ritual behaviour, has been further elaborated by Chappel and Coon to the extent of restoring the equilibrium "where changes in social interaction impendent or had occurred". They espoused that events like marriage

or death disturb the rhythm in the interaction between individuals and indicate the relation of ritual to the re-establishment of a new equilibrium at a different stage based upon the changed situation.

At every stage of life from birth and infancy, through adolescence, youth and married stage, to death an individual is considered to pass through a critical interation period in his group life requiring some super human powers to cope up with the life in the new social environment. Like his advanced neighbour the tribal also tries to tied over these crisis periods and plans to gain the necessary strength to face the new situation by enlisting the help of supernatural powers through performance of ritual ceremonies, magical rites and by observing certain taboos in a manner befitting the situation. Further, these crisis periods are believed to be plastic times during which a man is more susceptible to evil influences of malignant spirits. In order to gain the necessary strength, to face the new situation with confidence and to ward off the evil spirits, the various religious and magical practices have been evolved.

The Savaras perform many a ceremony and magical rite to protect the man at every stage from birth to death and even after death to facilitate the fixing up of the departed soul in the nether world of spirits and tutelaries. Eventhough Savaras understand the

relationship between conception and sexual inter-course, still they believe that human effort should also be sufficiently strengthened by the blessings of Gods for the proper procreation of the race.

The Savaras generally do not indulge in sexual inter-course during night time as they believe that female organs sleep during night times. The forest is preferred to the house for sexual inter-course during day time. When a couple is engaged in sexual activity in the forest two wooden poles or three branches are placed "X" shape indicating to others that no body should disturb them by going that way. But now-a-days the practice is on the wane and many of them are preferring night times for sexual intercourse in their own houses.

A woman is considered to have conceived when she misses her menstrual cycles (Aganathi). Sexual inter-course is continued till the third or fourth month of pregnancy. Thereafter, it is prohibited as it is considered to be injurious to the health of the pregnant woman and the foetus. Neither food taboos nor work taboos are imposed on the pregnant woman but for restraining her from doing heavy manual labour. But a pregnant woman invariably avoids burial grounds and other places of spirit haunting to escape the haunting of evil spirits and the consequent abortion or still-birth. For suspected abortion magico-medicinal treatment is given by the 'Kudan' or 'Kudanboi'.

Delivery is always conducted outside the main house, either in the verandah or in the cattle shed. An enclosure is constructed by closing all the sides of the verandah or the cattle shed to provide privacy for conducting delivery. As soon as the expectant mother feels labour pains, she comes out of the house and sits on a stone in the delivery enclosure, holding a strong rope or a rope sling that is hanging from the roof of the verandah with her legs stretched wide apart. The 'Kudanboi' or any other elderly woman of the village conducts the delivery. Generally on such occasions, all the menfolk of the village are asked to leave the village except one or two men who stand at distance in order to be ready to help in case of an emergency. In case of difficult labour, one of the male members is sent to the 'Kudan' or 'Buyya' to fetch some medicine. If a woman is suffering from difficult labours either the 'Kubanboi' or any elderly woman inserts a kind of leaf in the hair of the suffering woman. It is claimed that as soon as the leaf is kept in the hair of the woman, delivery occurs without any further difficulty. It is very interesting to note ^{that} the Savara expertise in psychotherapy as exemplified in the performance of the act of coconut-breaking intended to ensure easy delivery. In the psychological approach, the medicine-man stands outside the delivery enclosure and holds a coconut in his hand and chants some hymns. He orders loudly (so that the woman in difficult labour may hear him) that the woman should

deliver the child as soon as he breaks the coconut. He purposefully delays the breaking of the coconut on the pretext of counting numbers 1,2,3 and then breaks the coconut. As soon as the coconut is broken the woman usually delivers the baby.

If the ejection of the after-birth is delayed, the 'Buyya' or the 'Kudan' is again approached. The 'Kudan' gives the root of 'Vuttareni' (*Acharanthes aspera*) Plant and it is kept in the mouth of the woman thrice with the belief that the after-birth may come out without any delay. The 'Kudanboi' cuts the umbilical cord with the help of a knife or an arrow-head (Arm) and the placenta is buried at the outskirts of the village in dung pit.

Their hand to mouth living makes it imperative for every family member to work in the field or forest whatever may be their physical condition. Sometimes, a pregnant woman working in a field may deliver the child in the 'Podu' field or in the forest. At such times, if there is no other woman to help her, she herself cuts the umbilical cord with a broken piece of pot and brings the baby home. Immediately after delivery both mother and child are given hot water bath. On the day of delivery the mother is given hot cooked rice with out any curry. After having her meals, the mother starts suckling the neonate. The hot food served is believed to increase the milk yield of the mother. The 'Kudanboi' massages the abdomen of the lactating mother with castor oil and

gives hot touch to clear her bowels, everyday for a week or ten days from the day of delivery.

After delivery a woman is considered to be under birth-pollution, the period of which usually extends to 9 days or until the 'Desari' fixes the day of purification bath. Until that time the woman is not allowed to touch anything in the house. The woman is not allowed even to enter the house till the third day in the case of a female child and fifth day in the case of male child, during which periods she continues to stay in the enclosure in the Verandah. Afterwards, the woman is allowed to enter the house, but she should not touch any of the household articles. She is permitted to sleep on a cot confined to one corner of the house.

The 'Desari' fixes the auspicious day for giving the lactating mother the purificatory bath and ceremonially introducing her to the household work for the first time after delivery which usually falls on the 9th day of delivery. On the fixed day, the 'Kudanboi' shaves the child's head. The woman collects all her clothes and goes to the stream. After thoroughly cleaning her body, she washes the clothes and returns home. She keeps the neonate before the 'Lingor' figure drawn on the wall, sprinkles turmeric rice and bows before it. From then onwards she is free to use all the household possessions and move about the house without any restriction.

The Savaras believe that the moment of child birth has a direct bearing upon the future of the neonate and the family in accordance with the nature of the ruling star of the period in which the baby is born. The 27 stars are classified into two categories - auspicious and inauspicious and each of these stars rule a particular period in a day. If the neonate is born at a time when an auspicious star is ruling the period, the moment of birth is considered auspicious and the future of the new born and his family members is believed to be prosperous. For instance, if a child is born in the ruling periods (Muhurtam) of 'Chinapunaru' of 'Pedda Punaru' stars, it is considered to be quite auspicious for the new born and the family. Similarly a baby born in the ruling period of an inauspicious star is considered to bring misfortune to the family. For example, if a child is born in 'Kruthika' (Star) 'Muhurtham' (time of birth), it is believed that either father or mother of the child is sure to die. Similarly those born in the ruling period of the star 'Magha' are feared to be killed by a wild animal like tiger during their life time.

Savara custom of name giving is devoid of elaborate ritual. But for a few villages, there is no special ceremony for name giving in general. Usually the child is named after the day on which it is born. The name of the child ends with 'a' if it is male child and 'i' if it is a female child. Savara names therefore invariably confine to the seven names of the days in a week as shown below:

Day of birth	Name of the male child	Name for the female child
Monday	Sombara	Somabari
Tuesday	Mangada	Mangidi
Wednesday	Budda	Budi
Thursday	Lakkiya	Lakki or Gurbari
Friday	Sukru	Sukri
Saturday	Sanniya	Sanni
Sunday	Addiya	Addi

However, in some instances ancestral spirits are believed to disagree with the name given to the neonate. This is expressed in the loud and continuous crying of the child after naming it. In spite of mother's crying, if the child continues to cry it is believed that one of their ancestors is reborn and not satisfied with the name given to the child as it should be named after the reborn ancestor.

To identify the particular ancestor reborn in their family, the 'kudan' is approached with a 'solla' of rice and a small pot of liquor. The 'Kudan' keeps the rice in a winnowing fan and starts uttering some hymns and falls into a trance. In the trance the 'Kudan' loudly utters the name of the ancestor reborn. He also gives out the demands of the ancestor spirit which invariably includes a goat or other animal sacrifice.

After naming the child accordingly, the sacrificial goat or animal is (in the first instance) dedicated to the ancestor spirit in the following way to be sacrificed during the 'Ideesung' ceremony. The 'Kudan' cuts the ears

of the animal to be dedicated and utters the following words:

- Amukulonai (we offer you)
- Kina mirny annabe (let no tiger eat it)
- Kurlum-irnyan nable (let no fox eat it)
- 'Voila mirnyan nabe (let no wild dog eat it)
- Thalai baithani (let it be there till its old age)
- Gandru Vursan (if crops grow well)
- Yagaminnim (after three years)
- Anims thetham (we will give you the goat)
- Agaruinathein (otherwise we can not give you).

The animal thus dedicated is left to roam about and it will be sacrificed during Ideesung ceremony subject to the condition that there are good crops.

In some of the Savara settlements like Lakkaya Guda elaboratè corporate kin rituals of name giving and even first crawling are performed. The ritual is performed in the 'Karteekam' and all the brothers name their children at the same time. As it is a costly ritual the expenditure is shared by all the brothers including even the childless as the other brothers reciprocate when he has a child and performs the name giving ceremony.

The auspicious day is fixed by the Jatapu 'Desari' when one of the brothers goes to him with a 'Solla' of rice, a small pot full of liquor and a twenty five paise coin.

The 'Desari' drinks a little liquor after sprinkling it on the floor and informs the auspicious day not only for the performance of the ritual but also for the purchase of clothes (Thamma Sindri), husking of paddy or 'Chodi' or 'Sama' and first cradling of the child. Again he sprinkles a little liquor on the floor and drinks a little too. Those present on the occasion also part take a little of the drink and the remaining liquor is given back.

He returns home with the remaining liquor and after sprinkling a little on the floor, the rest is shared by all the family members. On the auspicious day fixed by 'Desari' new clothes are purchased, rice is prepared, curry is cooked etc.

On the day fixed for crawling and naming the child, the 'Desari' is again approached with a 'Solla' of rice and small pot of liquor. The 'Desari' sprinkles the liquor thrice on the floor. After sharing the remaining liquor with others, the 'Desari' accompanies them to their village. As soon as they arrive at the house, one woman washes their feet.

In the meanwhile, the 'Kudan' draws the designs of the 'Lingor' on the wall and sprinkles liquor and turmeric mixed rice while reciting some hymns. He invites the 'Desari' to name the child. The 'Kudan' feeds the sacrificial animal - a goat or a buffaloe or a pig and sacrifices it. The blood of the sacrificed animal is sprinkled near the 'Lingor'. One of the women cooks the ceremonial food called 'Honan'.

The 'Desari' also sprinkles the turmeric rice and liquor near the 'Lingor'. He arranges the cradle with a new cloth hung from one of the rafters of the verandah and keeps the child in it. He gently swings the cradle and puts turmeric rice over the child.

The cooked ceremonial food (Bonam) is served to the 'Gamang', 'Buyya' and the 'Kudan' followed by other relatives. As the 'Desari' is from Jatapu tribe and does not accept cooked food from Savaras, he is given four seers of rice, one sear or one pot of liquor, one seer of dal, a new turban cloth (Rarraiddu) and a dhoti (Jarijeenam). The 'Desari' is ceremonially accompanied up to his village where they share the liquor given to the 'Desari' and return home.

This ritual is confined to only certain Savara villages. In some of the Savara settlements like Thobbanaguda, the ritual is not in vogue, though they are aware of its performance in other settlements. In these villages they do not consider it auspicious to perform the ceremony indicating that it is not an original ritual of the tribe and this is further indicated by the major role assigned to the 'Desari' belonging to Jatapu, a neighbouring tribe.

Savaras resort to certain magico-religious practices in curing some of the ailments of the neonates. Some children become very weak after the 9th day of birth and almost resemble the attenuated figure of a lizard or leech. To cure this miasmatic condition of the neonate resembling that of a lizard or leech, a blood sucker is captured and the

'Kudan' gives it bath and smears turmeric. A turban is fixed to it with a bow and arrow inserted into it. After sprinkling some liquor it is left in the forest by the 'Kudan'. Another practice is to approach the 'Kudan' with a 'Solla' of rice and a pot of liquor. The 'Kudan' sprinkles a little of the liquor and recites hymns the whole night after which a chick is sacrificed in the early morning hours.

The family purchases a fowl or goat, beads, thread, banana fruits, comb, mirror, flowers etc. and gives them to the 'Kudan'. After placing all these items in leaf plates, the 'Kudan', starts reciting hymns after having his supper. The next day morning a fowl is fed and sacrificed. Oblation is cooked with it and eaten by the family members.

A lactating mother may resume her normal household and economic activities, generally, within two months of delivery and the resumption of work usually depends upon the family economic status and her post natal health. During the period of lactation she mainly depends upon her grow up children both for 'Podu' work and food gathering activity. As the Savaras mostly live in nuclear families, the assistance of elderly women like mother or mother-in-law is not always available to the nursing and lactating mothers.

A Savara child is continued to be breast-fed for a period ranging from one and half years to two and half years. The baby's mouth is daily cleaned with a mixture of garlic and pepper powder to ward off diseases of mouth and teeth.

Either engaged in work or taking rest, a Savara mother always allows the kid to suckle the breast. While at work, the baby is carried in a cloth sling (Jeekodi) hung across the shoulders so as to facilitate the child to conveniently suckle the nipple. More over, as the Savara women are not accustomed to wearing a bodice, the breasts either partially or completely uncovered by saree, the child continues to suckle at will without any hinderance. However, when a woman has grown up children, the neonate may be left to their care in peak hours of work. As the child completes her second year the mother attempts to keep off from the child and the frequency of breast feeding is reduced to one or two times a day. If the child persists with suckling even after completion of two years, she applies bitter tasting paste of either neem leaves or 'Naluva' leaves to the nipples and the child starts completely thriving on semi-solid or solid foods to which it is introduced by about 9th month after birth. The child invariably sleeps with the mother.

Though it is against accepted norm to have sexual intercourse till the child is weaned, it is not always observed due to the influence of the growing contacts with the plains people. In the Savara settlements under study it is observed that some of the Savara couples begot the next child even before the completion of two years of age by the previous child.

The boys and girls start wearing a loin cloth only from 4th or 5th year onwards and usually accompany their

parents or elder siblings to the fields and forests. From seventh year onwards a girl helps her mother in minor household chores like sweeping the house, fetching water in small pots and looking after younger siblings, while boys help their parents in tending cattle, watching standing crops, hunting small game etc.

PUBERTY:

By about 12 to 14 years of age a girl attains puberty. At the first sign of menstruation (Assandale) the girl will be confined to a corner of the house. The mother approaches the 'Desari' with a 'Solla' of rice and a little turmeric to find out whether the time of menstruation is auspicious or inauspicious. It is considered auspicious if he returns the turmeric and keeps the rice for himself and inauspicious if the rice is returned instead of the turmeric. It is feared that if a girl's first menstruation occurs at an inauspicious moment, her would be husband's family members will die. Consequently, no man comes forward to marry such a girl.

The girl is given a turmeric water bath and kept in the verandah or cattle shed. She is tabooed from entering the house, nor is she allowed to touch any household articles nor undertake any work as she is considered to be polluted. She is kept in isolation until the menstrual flow ceases. As soon as her menstruation ceases, the girl goes to the stream to take bath and wash her clothes. She dries the clothes in sun and wears them before returning home. She cleans the

whole house by smearing with dung and resumes her normal household activities.

Pollution is observed during her monthly cycles and she has to confine herself either to the verandah or to the cattleshed. However there is neither a separate individual hut or communal hut for the women in periods. Though a menstruating woman is allowed to do outdoor work either in the forests or in the agricultural fields, excepting sowing and transplanting operations, she is not permitted to do any household work. If a women in periods touches seed or seedlings it is believed that they may not sprout and grow properly.

While puberty heralds womanhood for a girl, a Savara boy has to undergo ceremonial initiation into adulthood after which he is considered to have attained the marriageable age. The heads of all Savara children are clean shaven until they attain the age of 15 or 16 years. As the boys attain the age of 15 or 16 years they go to the 'Desari' on an auspicious day with a pot of Mohuwa liquor and a 'Solla' of rice. The 'Desari' sprinkles a little liquor and recites a few hymns after which he arranges is a knot (Rerede) behind his head. In a year or two he will be married. No such ceremonial initiation is performed for girls. However, some of the Savaras living near the plains areas have discontinued the practice of growing 'Rerede' in imitation of the plains people.

MARRIAGE:

The next important stage of life is marriage. Savara marriages are characterised by more of social interaction than of elaborate ritualization. The Social ceremony has been described by different researchers at different times and in different regions, starting with Fawcett and followed by the illustrious and scholarly father and son G.V.Ramamurthy Panthulu and G.V.Sithapathi.

Facetti's* description of Savara marriage was the recorded narration of a 'Gamang' of his own marriage. The 'Gamang' mentioned about 5 personal visits spread over a period of 2 months with intervals of 4 to 30 days duration. The presents during these visits, which started with one small pot of liquor, one arrow and a brass bangle accompanied by two relatives of the bridegroom increased to 30 pots of liquor, a little rice, a cloth for the girl's mother and some hill dhall accompanied by all the villagers with music besides a number presents presented to the male and female members of the bride's family and some of the arrows inserted in the thatch of the roof of the hut. However, the marriage which started as a negotiated one ended in marriage by capture. Fawcett's account mentions that the bride groom places the arrows in the hands of bride's relatives while asking them to drink liquor which is not in vogue among the present day Savaras. In the whole affair

* The Savaras of Madras, Journal of Anthropological Society, PP.232-34.

the bride-groom takes a leading role and not his parents while in the bride's party, her parents were the chief negotiators.

In contrast, the narration of Rao Seheb Gidugu Ramamoorthy Panthulu* which contains the negotiations and proceedings of a typical Savara marriage attributes a leading role to the parents of the bride-groom. Instead of the 5 visits mentioned in Fawcett's narration only three visits are made by the parents of the bride-groom before performance of the marriage ceremony which takes place at the bride-groom's residence. However, carrying of liquor and arrows (on the second visit only) is common to both the narrations. But according to Ramamoorthy Panthulu's account the bride-groom's party is subjected to a severe thrashing which they bear passively as it is indicative of their acceptance of the proposal. The actual ceremony is as follows:

The bride groom's party proceeds to the house of the bride, dancing and singing to the accompaniment of all the musical instruments except the drum, which is only played at funerals. With them they take twenty big pots of liquor, a pair of brass bangles and a cloth for the bride's mother and red clothes for the father, brothers and other male relatives. When everything is ready, the priest is called in. One of the twenty pots is decorated and an arrow is fixed in the ground at its side. The priest then repeats prayers to the invisible spirits and ancestors and pours some liquor into the leaf cups prepared in the names of the ancestors

* Quoted by E. Thurston in his book Castes and Tribes in Southern India.

(Jojongi and Yoyongi, male and female) and chiefs of the village. This liquor is considered very sacred and is sprinkled from a leaf over the shoulder at the feet of the elders present. The father of the bride addressing the priest, says: "Buyya', I have drunk the liquor brought by the bride-groom's father and, thereby have accepted his proposal for a marriage between his son and my daughter. I do not know whether the girl will afterwards agree to go to her husband or not. Therefore, it is well that you should ask her only to speak out her mind". The priest accordingly asks the girl if she has any objection and she replies, "My father and mother and all my relatives have drunk the bridegroom's liquor. I am a Savara and he is a Savara. Why then should I not marry him?". Then all the people, assembled proclaim that the pair are husband and wife. This done, the big pot of liquor which has been set apart from the rest, is taken into the bride's house. This pot with another pot of liquor purchased at the expense of the bride's father is given to the bridegroom's party when it retires. Every householder receives the bride-groom and his party at his house and offers them liquor, rice and flesh which they can not refuse to partake of without giving offence".

Both these accounts do not mention anything about the bride price. But now-a-days it is the most important factor in settling a marriage. The rude practice of breaking the houses and beating the people has disappeared. What he

calls 'Jing-Jing-boi dat sal' is the liquor taken to the bride's house if she happens to be a child. The liquor taken to the bride is called 'Dandigiboi-dal-sal' if she is a grown up girl. The presentation of as many arrows as the number of males in the bride's house is also not in vogue.

Dr. G.V. Sithapathi who investigated among the Savaras of Parlakinidi described the various stages of a regular marriage. They are briefly given hereunder:

stage I (Ser-am-dinna: Lit-thrust-arrow-day):

Two or three male friends and relatives of the bride-groom (His father does not accompany) set out with a small pot of liquor, two arrows and two finger rings on an auspicious day. The party directly enters the house and places the arrows and the pot near the main post. They pour liquor into 3 or 4 leaf cups and drink the liquor, leave the remaining liquor in the bride's house and go home. Since previous intimation is given, the doors are either kept open or closed as to the wish of the bride's parents either to accept, invite the 'Gamang' and 'Buyya' and all of them part take liquor left by the bridegroom's party. What is significant in this first visit is the formal proposal by the bridegroom's party followed by the formal acceptance of the proposal by the bride's party. "In sipping liquor near the main post in the house of the bride's father, the visitors signify the desire of the bridegroom's parents whom they represent, to enter into matrimonial relationship with the

members of the bride's family and indicate that they are all of the same race and of the same endogamous group".

Stage II Bernia-Sal-Dinna (Lit-Conversation-Liquor-Day):

Four or five days after the first visit a party consisting of the bridegroom, his father and close relatives, the 'Gamang' the 'Buyya' and a mediator (one who is gifted with clever and persuasive speech) takes two big pots of liquor. The bride's father invites his kinsmen and the 'Gamang' and the 'Buyya'. They settle the amount of bride price and the quantity of liquor to be paid. The 'Buyya' spreads the leafcups near the main post, fills them with liquor and invokes the deities. They all share the liquor. The bridegroom's party returns home. "The significance of the second visit is to settle the bargain".

Stage III A Lattin-Sal-Dinna (Lit-the inopportunately - Profferred - Liquor - day):

Ten days after the bargain is settled the bride-groom's father sends a party of men and women with 4 pots of liquor. It is not part of the stipulated amount of liquor. One pot is for the use of the party on the way and the other three for the bride's father "They are offered as a free gift in token of the delight at the settlement of the match. This offer is not made in all parts of the Sora country. Where it is made, it is done with the object of strengthening the previous agreement".

Stage IV Pang-sal-Dinna (Lit: Carry-liquor-day):

One month or sometime later, the stipulated amount of liquor is paid in instalments. The stipulated money and two pots of liquor are reserved for the last instalment.

Stage V Takkod-Sal-Dinna (Lit: the final-instalment-liquor-day):

The bridegrooms party is very large and includes parents and relatives. They go with music and dance. They take the amount of bride-price, the remaining 2 pots of liquor and 20 measures of rice.

The bride's father gives a feast to the people after 'Buyya' invokes the deities and drinks liquor. Then the party returns home leaving behind the bridegroom. He works for his father-in-law for a week and returns home on the eighth day escorted by the bride's parents and a few people of the bride's village.

Stage VI Pussi-Boi-sal-Dinna:

A month or two after this, 4 or 5 persons are sent by the bridegroom's parents to enquire the day of the bride's party's arrival at the bridegroom's house. After fixing the day in consultation with the bride's father, they feast and return home.

Stage VII Jun-Junboi-dinna (Lit: Escort-bride-day):

On the day fixed, the bride, her parents and close relatives go to the bride-groom's village in a party. Prior to their departure the bride bows before all the elders

and visits all the houses to bid farewell. They take with them 20 measures of rice to be given away to the bride-groom's parents.

The bridegroom's party welcomes bride's party with music and dance on the cut-skirts of the village. They go to the bride-groom's house. The 'Buyya' of the bride-groom's village sprinkles liquor in the leaf-cups at the main post and gives them liquor. Then the bride is ushered in. They sprinkle rice grain on each other. The women of the bride groom's party smear turmeric to the forehead and back of the women of the bride's party. The marriage is thus celebrated the guests are entertained to a feast. Then the bride-groom's party returns home.

But Bhima Savaras and Kayu Savaras neither recognise nor practise such detailed stages of the marriage ritual. They could not recollect them even when these different stages of marriage were explained to them. They make 5 or 6 rounds or more before a 'Pankui' is celebrated, but do not name them as reported by Dr. Sitapathi.

The arrows are not taken on their first visit and the father of the bride groom generally leads the party. The bride-groom does not stay with his parent's-in-law before marriage. The bride accompanies the bridegroom to his house, and stays there for a few days helping her mother-in-law in the daily work. The marriage ceremony always takes place at the bride's house and not at the bridegroom's.

PANKUI: This regular marriage is known as Pankui. It is formerly arranged by the parents of the bride and bridegroom and is attended by elaborate ritual involving lot of expenditure. The following account of marriage is generally followed by the Kapu Savaras. The Bhina Savaras also perform the marriage in the same way with slight alterations here and there.

On an auspicious day fixed by the 'Desari', the father of the bridegroom, the 'Gamang', the 'Buyya', and the 'Kudan' of his village and a few more relatives go to the bride's village. They go straight to their house, taking with them one pot of liquor. This is known as 'Jing-Jing-boidal-sal' (when the bride happens to be a girl who has not yet attained puberty) and 'Dangidi boidal sal' when the bride is a maiden. Some of the Savaras also take bangles (Kaddu) and beads (Buddu). Women may also accompany the party. As they will be previously intimated about their proposed visit, the bride's parents keep their doors either open or closed according to their wish to accept or reject the proposal. They enter the house and keep the liquor pot near the main post along with the beads and bangles. If the girl is favourably inclined to the marriage, she will not stay in the house. She will go to the forest or somewhere. If she does not like the proposal, she takes the liquor pot, beads and bangles and places them in the open space in front of the house. If the bride and her parents accept the marriage proposal they invite their 'Gamang',

'Buyya', 'Desari' the 'Kudan' and all other relatives. The 'Desari' spreads the leaf cups near the main post and fills them with liquor. Then he invokes the deities and ancestral spirits. All those present partake the liquor brought by the bridegroom's party.

When the girl's parents do not respond quickly, the 'Desari' of the bridegroom's party sprinkles the liquor near the main post, invokes the deities and all the members of the bridegroom's party sip liquor. They wait for some time to see whether the parents of the bride also sip liquor. If they do not sip, the bridegroom's party returns home leaving behind the remaining liquor. The parents of the girl take the liquor to the bridegroom's house and leave it there if they do not accept the proposal. The parents of the bridegroom again take back the liquor pot and place it near the main post and it is again returned to the bride's parents. This process is repeated for some time. Then the parents of the bridegroom take the liquor to the bride's house and mix it in the water used by them. This is usually the case when the bride happens to be the bridegroom's maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter. While mixing the liquor in the water the father of the bridegroom says "who will give their girl to your 'Mossil' if you don't give your daughter" and thus places them under an obligation to accept the proposal.

In case of 'Jing-Jingboi', they wait till the girl attains her puberty. During this interval, which may vary from 3 to 4 years, the bridegroom and his parents often take

liquor to the bride's house to please them. Such frequent visits of the bridegroom and his parents to the bride's house strengthen the relations between the two families. The proposals once accepted are never broken. In case of 'dangidiboi', they generally do not wait for long. A few days after their first visit only, they again go to the bride's house. This time the bridegroom also accompanies the party. The party also includes the parents of the bride-groom, the 'Gamang', 'Buyya', 'Desari', 'Kudan' and the relatives. They carry with them 5 measures of rice, 3 measures of dal (redgram) and 3 pots of liquor and go straight to the bride's house and keep the rice, dal and the liquor pots near the main post. The parents of the bride return half of what is brought by the bridegroom's party if they are poor. The parents of the bride cook rice and dal. They invite the 'Gamang', 'Buyya', 'Desari', 'Kudan' and other relatives in the village. The 'Desari' places leaf-cups near the main post, fills them with liquor and sprinkles the liquor to invoke the deities and the ancestral spirits. All those present partake the liquor. The bridegroom's party returns to their village after taking food along with the bride.

The bride stays in the bridegroom's house for some time. She helps her mother-in-law in all the house hold activities. But the bride and bridegroom do not sleep together.

After a few days, the bridegroom's parents, in consultation with the 'Desari' of their village, send an invitation to the parents of the bride to come to their house on a particular day for fixing of the marriage. The parents of the bride, 'Gamang', 'Buyya', 'Desari', 'Kudan, and their relatives, in a party go to the bridegroom's village singing and dancing all the way. As they approach the village, they pretend as if they are angry with the bridegroom's party. A few members of the bride-groom's village bring liquor to the outskirts of the village. The bride's parents and party drink the liquor and then enter the bride-groom's house. The bridegroom's parents invite 'Gamang', 'Buyya', 'Desari', 'Kudar' and all their relatives. The 'Gamangs' of both the villages assemble relatives of both sides and ask the bride and the bridegroom whether they are willing to become wife and husband. It is just a formality because she has already given her acceptance by sipping the liquor brought by the bridegroom's party on their first visit.

The two 'Gamangs' settle the amount of bride-price (Voli) to be paid by the bride-groom to the parents of the bride. The 'Desari' of the bride-groom's village spreads leaf-cups near the main post and fills them with liquor. He sprinkles liquor and invokes the deities and the ancestral spirits. All of them partake liquor.

Meanwhile the bride-groom's relatives cook rice and dal. All the relatives take food and the parents of the bride return to their village. At the outskirts of the village, the bride-groom's parents offer liquor to the

is repeated thrice they eat the food completely. The Desari ~~taks~~ the bride and the bridegroom with the bridegroom's right hand being placed over the bride's right hand and washes their hands. Afterwards food is served to the 'Gamangs', 'Desaris', the 'Buyyas' and other villagers. The rest of the day is spent in singing and dancing.

The next day morning, the bridegroom's party which includes the parents of the bride-their 'Gamang', 'Buyya' 'Desari' and other relative proceed to the bridegroom's house.

The bridegroom's parents cook 20 seers of rice and 5 seers of dal besides keeping ready 3 or 4 pots of liquor. The 'Desari' of the bridegroom's village serves food to the bride and the bridegroom in two adda leaf plates after smearing turmeric to their faces. He exchanges the leafplates after both of them ate a morsel each. He repeats it thrice. After they finish their food, he keeps the right hand of the bridegroom over the right hand of the bride, takes them outside the house and washes their hands. Then food is served to all the relatives. The bride's parents and their relatives leave the village the next day. The bride stays back with the bride-groom.

The marriage ritual is slightly different among the Bhina Savaras. The amount of 'Voli' is fixed between Rs.9.50 and Rs.13.50. One goat and one saree for the bride's mother form part of it. The bridegroom's party when it goes to the bride's village for the marriage ritual, has to take with them the following food stuffs:

departing bride's father's party. While going the 'Desari' of the bride's village informs the day on which they should come to their village.

On the appointed day, the bride-groom, the bride, the bridegroom's parents and the village officials and relatives proceed in a party. A golden ring is also taken with them as a present to the bride, if they can afford. They also take 20 seers of rice, 10 seers of dal, one arrow-head, and 1 or 2 pots of liquor and the bride price. The quantities of these items generally depend upon the economic position of the bride-groom's family. Another pot of liquor is also carried with them specially meant for the brother-in-law of the bridegroom. As the bridegroom's party enters the bride's house, the bride's brothers search the shoulders of the bridegroom for liquor. If they do not find the liquor with him, they may stage a mock fight.

The 'Desari' of the bride's village keeps leaf-cups near the main post, fills them with liquor and invokes the deities after sprinkling liquor. Then all of them sip liquor. The bride and the bridegroom are seated on a yoke. The 'Desari' smears turmeric to their faces. Both of them take full bath and dress themselves in new clothes. They sit side by side and food is served to them in two leaf plates. First the bride-groom eats one morsel of food from his plate. The bride also eats one morsel from the plate. Then they exchange the plates. They eat one morsel each and exchange the plates again. After the process of exchanging plates

Rice	..	60 seers
Del	..	4 seers
Mirchi	..	1 Vis
Onions	..	2 Seers (1 Vis)
Dried fish	..	2 seers (1 Vis)
Tobacco	..	1 Vis
Tamarind	..	1 Vis
Turmeric	..	1 Vis

They have to present dhotis to all the close relations such as the bridegroom's sisters and brothers, brother-in-law, parents-in-law, and the 'Buyya' and Podale'-the village headman and his assistant, the 'Kudanboi' - the Savara medicine woman.

But some Kapu Savaras of Pathapatnam taluk have changed their marriage rituals by mostly adopting the marriage practices of the neighbouring Hindus. They generally arrange their matrimonial alliances by negotiations and mutual consent. Marriage Pandals are erected and also 'Mangala Sutrani' is tied around the bride's neck just like Hindus. One Kapu Savara remarked 'How can a marriage take place without the Mangala-sutrani'.

It should be noted that the Savaras who have not been acculturated to that extent have not yet recognised the significance of 'Mangalasutrani' and do not have the practice of tying it.

MARRIAGE BY ELOPEMENT: (dum dum tup)

The boy and the girl and always adults in this case. They meet and exchange views either in the forest or in the fields. If the girl accepts the boy's proposal for elopement,

he intimates his intention to his parents. On an auspicious day, some of the boy's relatives and friends watch for the girl near a stream or well or in the forest. They approach her and ask her to accompany them to the boy's house.

Generally she follows them. Sometimes she pretends to be unwilling. In such cases, she is carried away by force to the boy's village. They leave her in the boy's house. The boy's parents intimate the event to the 'Gamang' of the village. The 'Gamang', in turn, informs the parents of the girl about the elopement of their daughter with the boy of his village. She stays in the boy's house, and does all work. There are no restrictions on her movements.

After knowing about the elopement of their daughter, the girl's parents send their elder son, or one of their relatives to the boy's village. Their visit is meant for find out whether the girl is willing to stay with the boy or not. The parents may also visit her to find out her mind. The boy's parents offer liquor to the guests and try to please them.

They stay there for some time to settle the affair. Meanwhile the parents of the boy secure money needed for the payment of 'Danda' (Bride-price) and the purchase of liquor to be served to the community.

A day is fixed, in consultation with the two parties, by the 'Desari' for the payment of the 'Danda'. On the day fixed, the parents of the girl, accompanied by their 'Gamang' 'Desari', 'Buyya', 'Kudan', and a few relatives, go to the boy's village. Instead of going straight to the boy's house,

they go to somebody's house, usually the last house in one of the two rows in the village to inform their arrival to the bridegroom's parents. The parents of the boy also invite their 'Gamang', 'Desari', 'Buyya', 'Kudan' and other relatives. When all of them have assembled, the 'Gamangs' of the two villages formally ask the boy and the girl, whether they are willing to live as wife and husband. After their consent, the father of the girl asks for the payment of the 'Danda'. The two 'Gamangs' act as mediators and compromise the two parties. When the amount of 'Danda' to be paid is settled, the boy's father pays the amount to the 'Gamang' of his village. The 'Gamang' hands it over to his colleague, who in turn, hands it over to the father of the girl. The 'Desari' of the boy's village sprinkles liquor and invokes the deities and ancestral spirits. All of them sip liquor. The parents of the boy play host at a feast to all the guests and the villagers. After the feast is over, the girl's parents and their party return to their villages.

The parents of the girl purchase a buffalo or a goat with the money paid by the boy's parents as 'Danda' and entertain their villagers at dinner which marks the end of the marriage by elopement.

MARRIAGE BY SERVICE (KINARSUNG) (Lit: Kinar-Mother-in-law): Sung-House):

'Kinarsung' is another type of marriage practised by the Savaras. When the parents of the girl do not have any male issues, they may think of keeping one of their son-in-law in their house to look after the interests of the family. Sister's son or wife's brother's son is preferred as spouse for his daughter when he has no male issues. In some cases even when they have sons, they keep the son-in-law in their house. Generally the Savaras do not like to serve in their father-in-law's house for the sake of his wife. It is only those who can not afford to bring a girl by 'Dingdingboi' method, resort to this type of marriage.

The parents of the girl are expected to give a share in their property and to look after him well.

After mutual consultations and agreement between the two families, the boy, along with his parents and elders of his village including 'Gamang' proceeds to the girl's village on an auspicious day. They carry with them one saree (Sindri) and some liquor in a Jug (Kunter). The party goes to the girl's house and waits in the verandah. The girl's parents invite their 'Gamang' and 'Desari' and a few relatives. The 'Gamang' of the girl's village asks the boy's 'Gamang', 'Jeena Pangai' meaning 'What have you brought?'. He replies 'Ayerray aliya pangai sindripangai Jeeandua Kinarsung Ayervtha - Miyolta agasa-nagathe agasa - Bongtys agasa Kaseen agasa antivasa ayetha' means "We came. We brought liquor and saree and nothing more. We do not have anything.

So we came for 'Illarikan'. We do not have food and clothes. We do not have oil. We do not have buffaloe and we do not have fowl". The parents of the girl reply "Banksildakona Thaugli dakona Bogtyi dako - Kaseem dako - niyolta - dako - gagaganagathi dako" meaning "You stay with us happily. We have buffaloe, We have goats. We have fowls. We have food and clothes and we have oil".

After this is over, the 'Desari' sprinkles liquor and invokes the deities and the ancestral spirits. All of them sip the liquor. The party returns home after food.

The girl's parents invite them to come for the marriage on an auspicious day. The auspicious day is fixed by the 'Desari' of the boy's village. His parents, 'Ganang', 'Desari' 'Buyya', and a few other relatives go to the girl's village without carrying anything with them.

As soon as they arrive at the bride's house, water is given to wash their feet. After washing they enter the house. The bride and the bridegroom take full bath and dress themselves in new clothes and sit for the feast. The sitting arrangement during the feast is shown below:

G: K b BGM BGF BG B BF BM b K G

BG: Bridegroom; B: Bride M: Mother; F: Father;
G: Ganang; D: Dasari; B: Buyya; K: Kudan.

Food is served first to the bridegroom and the bride. After eating a morsel each, they exchange their plates which they repeat three times. After the exchange of plates,

the 'Desari' of the girl's village takes the bride and the bridegroom outside. He places the bridegroom's right hand over the bride's left hand and then washes their hands. Food is served to the rest of the relatives. The party returns to their village leaving behind the bridegroom.

In some cases it is reported that the person has to pay the brideprice as usual. His stay in the parent-in-law's house and his services for them only enables him to get a wife without such expenditure.

MARRIAGE BY EXCHANGE (ULAIBOI):

When two families have marriageable daughter and son each, proposals are made for marriage by exchange. After informal consultations between the parents, proposals are initiated through the 'Gamang' of the village. One of the bridegroom goes to other's village along with the 'Gamang' and other elders. They carry liquor also with them. He asks the other man: "Nai Yeeham theyung ayernam thickthan" literally meaning: Give me your sister, I shall give my sister" which is repeated by the other person also. Since the informal consultations have already taken place between the elders and between the sponsors, there is not much difficulty in the settlement. The marriage may be celebrated at either of the two houses. They entertain the guests to a dinner which invariably includes serving of liquor.

DEATH AND OBSEQUIES:

When all efforts, magico-religions, magico-medicinal, offerings to the deities and spirits prove futile to save a person from death, the ailing person will be shifted to the verandah of the house. The 'Kudan' assisted by a few people will watch the patient. The 'Kudan' tests the pulse every now and then and perceives the temperature of the body by touch. He also bends the fingers (ondersing) and the toes (onderjing). If they give a 'Put - put' sound, it is believed that the patient is still in possession of 'Ondersing Puradan' and 'Onderjing Puradan'. The death of a person is confirmed when the heart stops beating. Fawcett writes "As soon as a man or woman or child dies in a house, a gun loaded with powder only, is fired off at the door, or if plenty of powder is available, several shots are fired, to frighten away the 'Kulba'".

Death among the Savaras is attributed to the evil spirits. If a man dies in the evening (after 5 or 6 pm) the corpse (mado) is kept in the verandah. Two persons keep a constant watch over the body. An oil lamp is continuously burnt through out the night. It is believed by the Savaras that the 'Kulba' of the dead person will do harm if it is not watched carefully. Nobody, except children, will sleep (dupmadd; Lit:shut eyed). They spend the night in song and dance.

Early in the morning a batch of people are sent to the forest to fetch fire wood. Meanwhile bath is given to

the 'mado'. The women of each house bring one pot of water and bathe the dead body. The 'mado' is anointed with turmeric and Mohua or 'Kagu' oil. A small cloth is wrapped round the waist of the dead body. If they can afford they may purchase a turban if the dead person is a male and saree if it is a female. After giving bath, a few 5 paise or 10 paise coins are tied to the turban or to one end of the saree depending upon the sex of the dead body. The 'mado' is placed in its cot. The 'Chignar' (the hereditary corpse carriers) carry the 'mado' to the cremation ground (Kintalo). The four 'Chignars' who actually carry the 'mado' are known as Mado-thambereta' and the one who carries the fire (toge) is known as 'Toginajameti'. All the men and a few women follow the 'mado' to the 'Kintalo'. The women stay back as they have to throw away all the remaining food items and water in the house and clean every thing. They have to fetch water and cook food afresh. In the 'kintalo', the pyre (Chiya) is arranged in a definite pattern. First 3 logs of 3' length are placed in the north-south direction, leaving a space of 3' between them. Across them, logs of 6-7 feet length are placed. Such layers are formed alternatively. The number of such layers are 10 in case of males and 14 in case of females. The 'mado' is placed over the 'chiya' by the 'chignar' (Chitamaro) with its face upwards. The head of the 'Mado' will be towards east and the legs to the west. All the personal belongings such as 'Kondi' (small knife carried in the waist band), 'Konki-borege' (Hol-cum-digging stick) etc. of the dead person are burnt along with the

'mado'. One of the 'Chigmars' goes round the pyre ~~thrice~~ and sets fire to it. They wait till the body is burnt.

After the body is burnt completely, the 'Chigmar', and other consanguineous relatives of the dead go to the stream and take bath and go home with wet clothes. After reaching home they change the clothes and take food.

SINKUNG DAM: The next day, one of the family members goes to the 'Desari' with a 'solla' of rice and a pot of liquor. He requests him to fix an auspicious day for the performance of 'Chinaroju' (Ayyal Jang or Ayyakob). The 'Desari' fixes the day. Their relatives are informed about the day on which the ceremony is going to be performed. Music (Kayuding or Dabding) is also arranged on that day.

On the fixed day, the 'Kudan' is approached with a 'Solla' of rice and a pot of liquor. The 'Kudan' feasts on that day. Along with the 'Kudan' all of them proceed to the forest to get the branch of a tree. The 'Kudan' places 5 grains of rice in a set pattern underneath the tree and chants some hymns. If he finds it auspicious, the branch of the tree is cut and brought home. After returning home, he goes to 'Kintale' (Cremation ground) and collects the ashes. A small pit is dug and the ashes are placed in it. The 'Kudan' ^{then} plants the branch and covers it with soil. The women plaster round it with dung. Stones are collected and arranged one over the other as walls to a small hut. The 'Kudan' sacrifices a fowl and all of them return home. Meanwhile the 'Buyya' sacrifices a goat and cooks the sacrificial 'bonan' (oblation) and food is

served to all.

Usually victims of Cholera and small-pox and children who die before attaining 5 years of age are burried. In case of death of a woman during the days of confinement or of any person dying as a result of sudden accident, the body is burried because it is believed that the attachment of the deceased person to his soul subsists for some more time. When a woman dies just after delivery without rearing her child, it is believed that her 'Kulban' wanders around the child as she could not sever her connections with the child so soon. In order to allow the 'Kulban' of the dead woman to move about, her dead body is burried.

The members of the deceased woman's family hang one or two small pots of liquor from the roof inside the house so that the 'Kulban' may drink it or at least sip it whenever it is thirsty. As the pots are covered with a lid some members of the house even hear a kind of sound when the 'Kulban' lifts the lid and drinks the liquor. When it is pointed out why the quantity of liquor is not reduced, the Savara readily replies that it is not the liquor but it is the essence of the liquor that is taken by the 'Kulban'. They also fill the pots with food grains like 'Sama', 'Chodi' etc., the contents of which are changed once in a few days when the 'Kulbans' are supposed to have exhausted their essence.

RELIGION AND RITUALS

Savaras believe that every person has two life giving phenomena or souls (1) Rup-rup-Puradan (from Prana) and (2) the 'Sudapuradan'. The Rup-rup-puradan' is identified with the heart, the expression rup-rup is 'onomatopoeic indicating the sound of the heart beat'. It is always connected with the corporal human body. A person dies when the 'Rup-Rup-Puradan' stops. A dead person has no second life. But the 'Sudapuradan' is different and is identified with the 'Atma' of the Hindu conception. It is independant of the body. It can leave and re-enter the body at will. It is all pervasive. Some Savaras also name 'Onderjung Purada and 'Ondersing Purada' (Toes and fingers). Dr.Sitapathi says that "The Sora Conception of Suda-Puradan is similar to but not exactly the same as the Hindu concept of 'Jiva Atma' or the Christian conception of the soul"¹ The 'Sudapuradan' leaves the body and wanders about while the person is asleep. The Savaras attribute the dreams to the wandering of the 'Sudapuradan'. The informant when questioned about its possibility, quickly reacted saying "I saw you in the night You are asking me to sing another song". I am saying I don't know". It is only my 'Sudapuradan' that met you, while I was asleep". The Savaras thus believe in the existence of two types of souls - Wandering Soul which leaves

1. The Soras by Dr.G.V.Sitapathi, J.A.H.R.S. Vol.XIV-
Part I p.4.

the body and appears in the dreams of other persons and the other which permanently dwells in the body and its departure results in death.

The M.W.M. Yeatts* mentioned that a 'Paradan' rests at the shoulders. He says 'An interesting circumstance brought to my notice is that while women have no particular objection to being touched on any part of the body, even the uncovered breasts, they resent violently any touch on the shoulder. I am informed by H.R.Uzielli that he has heard that a somewhat similar prejudice obtains among the Kachins of Upper Burma. This may relate to some belief in the presence there of the life spirit". The Savara women generally do not cover their breasts. However, they react very violently if a person other than her husband touches the breasts. But when enquired about the presence of any life spirit on the shoulder, they say that there is no such 'Paradan'. Even a negative argument was advanced saying that they carry heavy loads on the shoulders and if there happens to be a 'Paradan', will it not die?. There is still another question. If there is any such life spirit on the shoulders, it will be there in the shoulders of both males and females. And both of them should react violently. But men do not take it seriously, if they are touched upon their shoulders it seriously, if they are touched upon their shoulders by any person. It may therefore, be deduced that Yeatts contention is mere hearsay.

* M.W.M.Yeatts, Census of India Vol.I Part.IV - Ethnography
pp.200.

When a person dies, the 'rup-rup puradan' also ceases automatically. But the 'Suda Puradan' being immortal leaves the body after death and is known as 'Kulban' (Spirit or Preta of the Hindus). The 'Suda Puradan' remains 'Kulban' till the last rites - 'Guar' are performed and thereafter becomes an ancestral spirit. That is why the Savaras generally hurry up to perform the 'Guar' Ceremony at the earliest opportunity after death.

After a year or two, when the crops are good, they invoke the 'Kulban' of the dead person and offer sacrifices to it. This ceremony is known as 'Guar'.

They used to celebrate 'Guar' once in every two years in the past but now they perform it once in 5 or 6 years because of the deterioration in their economic condition. On this occasion, they offer sacrifices and erect memorial stones in the name of the deceased ancestors. Generally this is performed in the month of 'Palakamma'.

GUAR CEREMONY:

The head of the family requests the 'Kudan' to fix an auspicious day for the husking of paddy. The 'Kudan' keeps rice in a winnowing fan, recites hymns and reveals that the dead ancestors wished or named particular person in the family for husking the paddy. The person so named undertakes the husking, winnowing and cleaning of the paddy, all by himself. They keep 5 seers of this rice in a 'Palleki' (winnowing fan), cover it with adda leaves and neatly pack it. It is placed in a 'Leave' (sling) and

hung from the 'Mada'. A 'Kante' of liquor is also placed over the 'Palleki'.

The 'Desari' fixes a day for the fetching of banana leaves, adda leaves and fire wood from the forest. All the males of the village participate in it. Food is served in 'Kintevol' and 'Kopal' (leaf cups) prepared with adda leaves.

They purchase the sacrificial animals (Buffaloes) and 3 copper rings on an auspicious day. The number of buffaloes purchased depends upon the economic position of the families in the village.

When they return home with other buffaloes, the women wash their forelegs and fore-head and smear turmeric paste.

When all the families of the settlement who intend to celebrate the 'Guar' have purchased the sacrificial animals, the headman of the village requests the 'Desari' to fix an auspicious day for its celebration. Generally, it is fixed on the full-moon day in the month of 'Palakamma'. Invitations are sent to all their relatives through messengers. The relatives bring with them 2 or 3 measures of liquor, four seers of rice and one rupee each.

The number of the dead persons in their house are counted in consultation with the 'Kudan' and other elders of the village. Each dead person is offered a 'Solla' of rice by placing it near the door way of the house. The 'Kudan' sprinkles liquor on each 'Solla' and recites hymns. They are placed in a 'Tumpedi' and kept inside the house. This rice is known as 'Dinago'.

A day before the appointed day, the 'Gamang' the 'Buyya', the 'Kudan', the 'Desari' and other members of the family take oil-bath. The 'Kudan' keeps five 'Mollusira' (measures) of rice in a winnowing fan and places a 'Kiteda-manli' (earthen lamp) on the rice. He lights it and recites certain hymns and says 'Jobagai Jojonji, Jabawangjee yoyonji Jaba Parnaiba' literally meaning: O Grand fathers, O Grand mothers, please come-down soon!. The 'Kudan' falls into a trance and says 'Kuddablame pasigula ayyerrai', literally meaning: 'All of us, elders and youngsters, have come down'. After the 'Kudan' recovers his consciousness food is served to all. The rest of the day is spent in song and dance.

In the early morning of the appointed day, the 'Kudan' cooks 'dingdon' with 3 seers of rice. A small hole is dug in the 'Kintale' (burrial place) and a memorial stone (arsing) of 2 to 3 feet in length is erected. It is covered up with mud and plastered around with cow dung. The women wash the 'Arsing' and smear turmeric paste. 3 'Arsing' are erected for males and 2 for females. The 'Kudan' keeps turbans (rabana) on the three stones and the women dress the two 'arsing' meant for females. The 'Kudan' feeds the buffaloes with turmeric and sacrifices them with an axe. A gun shot is fired to indicate the celebration of 'Guar'. The 'Buyya' cooks the 'dindenjele' with the hearts of the buffaloes. One more gun shot is fired. The 'Kudan' sprinkles a little of 'dingdon' and 'dinenjele' near the 'arsing' and recites certain hymns to invoke the 'Kulbans' (spirits). He says 'Jammaiba Ganammaiba dingdon kulaing dindenjele Kulaing

'Janunnaiba arinlaibalaille', literally meaning, 'Bonam and Bhoji are ready, let us eat'. After a few minutes time, during which the 'Kulaban's are expected to absorb the essence of the offerings, 'dingdon' and 'dindenjele' are carried to the house. The party stops at the entrance of the house. The women wash their feet, after which they enter the house.

A part of the meat and rice are cooked and served to all the people. The 'Kudan', 'Buyya', 'Desari' and the 'Gamang' are served first followed by others. The remaining meat is made into small packets and distributed to their relatives, before they leave for their homes. The next day, the house is cleaned and plastered again. They cook 'dinaro' and entertain the villagers at a feast.

The individual families offer memorial service to their dead ancestors and this ceremony is known as 'Lathar'. The 'Desari' fixes the auspicious day. Generally all the brothers together perform this ceremony and share the expenditure.

LATHAR CEREMONY: On a fixed day, the house is cleaned and plastered with cow-dung. They also take oil bath. One of the brothers goes to the forest and brings 'tamarind fruit, flowers of 'Palleru-theega', 'Areka Theega' and 'Dumpa theega' (all these are creepers) and a lotus. A garland is made with the flowers and tied around the neck of a new pot and 'adda' leaves alone are placed in another pot. They cook 'sama' grain in another pot. A symbolic miniature cot, 9" in length and 4" in width and 3" in height is prepared with bamboo reeds and some thread is woven to

it as mattress. The cot, tamarind fruits, sweet potato and other available - vegetables are kept in winnowing fan along with one 'solla' of rice.

Two girls carry a pot each and a third girl carries the winnowing fan. They start from the elder brother's house and visit the houses of the other brothers before proceeding to the nearby stream accompanied by all the villagers. The women make a whistling sound as they proceed towards the stream. A fowl is also carried along with them. After arriving at the stream, the girls place the pots and the winnowing fan on the floor. The 'Buyya' keeps the cot near the waterflow. He also takes out the garland and keeps it on the cot besides three adda leaves and serves a little of the items of food brought by them. He sprinkles liquor and turmeric rice and recites some hymns. Then he feeds the fowl with rice and sacrifices it. He sprinkles the blood on the cot and places the head of the fowl near the cot. Once again he recites some hymns and gently pushes the cot to be drifted away by the water current. Meanwhile the children and women wash themselves in the stream. The 'Buyya' serves same food to all those present and the party returns home. They cook the meat and eat. The Savaras offer memorial service to their ancestors once in 4 or 5 years when their financial position permits, either in the month of 'Polkamma' or 'Kothamasa' and the festival is known as 'Idee-sung'.

A few days before the actual celebration of the festival, invitations are sent to all the relatives after making

the necessary purchases.

On the appointed day, all the members of the family the 'Kudan' and the 'Buyya' take oil bath. They also prepare a few 'Kopal' (leaf cup) besides weaving small baskets (Solla) whose number should be equalent to the number of dead persons in the family. Any discrepancy in that number, it is feared, will result in the death of the weaver or any of his family member.

The 'Ideesung' figures are drawn on the wall. Two bamboo sticks are effected near the 'Ideesung' and a third connecting stick is tied over the two. New clothes - one dhoti, one sari and one turban are placed over it. All varieties of seeds are kept in a 'Kontheem' (container) which is placed on the 'Mada'. They keep a 'Solla' with rice on the floor and connect the two with some thread.

The 'Kudan' and the head of the family, sit before the 'Ideesung'. The Kudan recites hymns while playing on his 'Kudan Singrai'. After reciting the hymns the 'Kudan' feeds the fowl and the goat with rice and sacrifices them. Meanwhile the women wash the fore legs and fore-heads of the buffalo and pig. The Kudan sacrifices them with a knife or an axe and a big stick respectively. The sacrificial blood of these animals is collected in Adda leaf plates and kept before the 'Ideesung'.

The 'Kudan' recites the hymns again. The women cook the 'Bonam' with 5 seers of rice and portion of the meat and place it before the 'Ideesung'. The 'Kudan' invokes

the dead ancestors and deities and offers them 'Bonam'.

The Gamang', the 'Buyya', the 'Desari', and 'Kudan take their food along with some elders of the village. Meat and rice are cooked separately and served to the relatives and other villagers. The evening is spent in song and dance.

In general the Savara Gods and spirits may be classed under the following two categories (1) benign and (2) the malign.

1. BENIGN:

1. Labo-sum (Goddess of Earth)
2. Radon-sum (deity of will power)
3. Baru-sum (Hill deity)
4. Eldabojan (A female deity)
5. Sonun-dang-an (Pot deity)
6. Kittung-sum (Deity of Kittung-Mamidikotta)
7. Kuda-sum (Hearth deity)
8. Lankan-sum (Sun deity)
9. Gusada (Village deity)
10. Ganurboi (Rain deity)
11. Ringe-boi (Goddess of wind)
12. Jodaba-sum (Stream deity)

13. Yoyonji (Female Ancestral spirit - Lt.grandmother)
14. Jojonji (Male -do- Lt.grand-father)

II. THE MALIGN:

1. Kina-sum (Tinger deity)
2. Jamma-sum (Skt.Yama)
3. Ruga-boi-sum (Small-pox deity)
4. Tuttum-sum (Blood sucker deity)
5. Terai-sum (Sorcery deity)

There are as many malign spirits as the number of deceases that are known to the Savaras.

In addition to the above, the Kapu Savaras worship the Jakar and Durga also. Dr.G.V.Sitapati mentions 21 orders of deities among the Savaras and these various orders

together contain more than 100 deities and spirits. No mention of the above two deities was made by him.

The Bhima Savaras of Mandasa worship the five Pandava brothers, especially Bhima after whom they are called.

The Savaras attribute divine power to each and every animal, to the unseen natural forces like the air and also to the visible natural phenomena like rain, thunder, or hills etc. Their gods are therefore numerous. They have a conception of a supreme deity or Lord. But as they could not see him with the naked eye, they recognise the Sun as the Creator. The name 'Gadeljang' (from 'Gadel' meaning it happens') and 'jang' signifying Mother deity. It literally means - the mother of any thing that comes out or happens, which finally means the Creator. The Supreme god, Sun, according to the conception of the Savaras is a female, while the Moon is a male. An interesting story is current among the Savaras which accounts for the phases of the Moon. The Moon went to the Sun one day and closed her eyes with his two hands. At that time the Sun was engaged in some domestic work. She touched the Moon's face with her two hands which are tarnished with soot. This resulted in disfiguring the face of the Moon. The phases of the Moon are a result of this action of the Sun.

The Savaras are not idolators in the real sense of the term. The 'Ideesung' (Described elsewhere) is represented by a picture of the Moon, the Sun and some of the animals that they come across in their daily life which are

not meant for religious worship or sacrifices. These animals are respected and honoured as heroes. But this conception of Savara worship has undergone considerable change due to their culture contacts with the neighbouring Hindu caste people. Consequently the Hindu religion has its impact on the religion of the Savaras. They worship the wooden or stone idol of 'Jakari' and also a sword representing the Hindu deity Durga besides the other Hindu deities in the plains of Pathapatnam. It is also found that some of them offer their hair to the Hindu God Lord Venkateswara. Now-a-days some of them bow in reverence before the 'Ideesung' during the propitiation of the ancestral spirits. This is evidently acquired by the Savaras from the Hindus.

Some Savaras have been found to house the deity Jakari in a small stone structure of two slabs standing with a third one placed on the top of these two.

The Savara worship is more or less business like similar to that of the Roman worship. They do not show too much respect or devotion to the deities and the spirits. But they are very much afraid of the wrath of the evil spirits. It is the fear of these evil spirits that forces them to offer bloody sacrifices and not any devotion to them.

They do not pray for their daily bread or for acquiring wealth which they expect to be earned by manual labour and other efforts. Sacrifices of birds and beasts are offered to the deities and spirits to express their gratitude for

the good done. According to Dr. Sitapati they propitiate the evil spirits with the demand, that the evil spirit should not bother them in consideration of what is offered. This is explicit in their chantings which say " I have done this, I have done that according to the traditional stipulation. I offered so much of liquor, so much of rice and sacrificed animals according to the traditional understanding. Why do you fail to restore the health of my deceased relative. Why are you still persisting to ruin his or her health. Any way you are an evil spirit who fails to keep his word. I am faithful and honest but you are unfaithful and dishonest". Even this traditional method of offering is also undergoing a change due to acculturation. Sometimes the Savaras make offerings to the evil spirits to ward off any evil from the dissatisfied evil spirits.

DESIGNS ON THE WALLS 'IDEESUNG':

The Indian tribes and castes customarily draw certain designs on the interior walls of the house on some festival or religious occasion. The Aplona drawings of Bengal illustrating certain themes from Brata stories, paintings of Bihar during Diwali and the 'Muggu' floor drawings of the Gollas of Andhra Pradesh for the propitiation of their dead ancestors are a few examples of such designs. The Gonds and Parbhans also make such drawings. The Savaras too, draw certain designs known as 'Ideesung' literally meaning 'what is written in the house'. It is also known as 'Linger'. But Dr. Elwin called it 'Ittal' (probably from the Sacra

root word which means 'to write'). Such designs are drawn in honour of the Dead, to avert disease, to promote fertility and on the occasion of certain festivals. These 'Ideesung' designs are common with Savaras in the interior of the hilly tracts of Andhra Pradesh, while the more acculturated Savaras have forgotten the significance of such drawings. But some of the acculturated Savaras draw designs representing the grand parents-Yoyong and Jojong on the walls of the houses. Dr. Elwin, writing about the Saoras of Orissa says "the routine procedure, which is almost standardised, is that if the shaman diagnoses the cause of any trouble in a household as due to a demigod or remedies to be adopted. In addition, as the annual festivals come round, the renewal of the old drawings, especially of those designed to improve the fertility of the crops, is accepted as a normal religious obligation.

When a picture is to be made, the house-holder may either make it himself following the inspiration of his dreams, or he may entrust the task to the 'Kurammaran' if he is gifted that way, or he may send for the 'Ittalmaran'. The artist comes to the house the evening before he has to start his work. The house holder places a small basket of rice and a pot of palm-wine on the ground before the wall on which the picture will be made and the 'Ittalmaran' offers them to the demigod or ghost and says, 'I am an ignorant fellow, I know nothing; but I have been told to make you a house. If I make any mistakes, do not punish for it will not be my fault.'

If the house-holder or the 'Ittalamaran' has not had a dream giving the design of the picture, the 'Ittalamaran' sleeps besides the dedicated rice before the wall with a view to getting a dream himself. Whether his slumbers are actually disturbed or not, he generally has the sense to declare next morning that he now knows exactly what to do. In fact, so vivid is the dream life of many Soaras that I believe they often do see the pattern of their 'Ittals' in their dreams. 1. Dr. Elwin gave a variety of patterns drawn on the walls by the 'Ittalamaran' or 'Kuranmaran' as directed by the dead ancestors or the ghosts in the dreams. But among the few Savaras who still adopt these drawings this aspect has lost its original significance. The 'Kudan' draws the 'Ideesung' or 'Ideethalan' (drawn on the wall). The nature of 'Ideesung' varies from person to person, from village to village and from region to region. The patterns followed are a combination of tradition, fancy and individual taste but are not the result of the wishes of their dead or demi-gods as with the Soaras of Ganjam district of Orissa State. Generally they paint on the wall washed with red ochre, with a twig slightly splayed at the end. 'Sama' flour or rice-flour mixed in water with ash or soot are the colours used for the painting.

These drawings depict the Moon, the Sun and all those objects which come across in his daily life. Dr. Elwin correctly said "The Ittal" is now regarded as a little temple

within the house". When enquired about the significance of the presence of the Moon, the Sun and other animals, birds etc., a Savara of the Parvathipur agency remarked "the moon and the sun give us light and the animals and birds provide us with food and other help in securing a livelihood. Our dead ancestors reside there and to offer them oblations is a perquisite at all festival and ceremonial occasions". It is his world represented in a nut-shell. "The Soaras have evolved a complex system of appeasement to protect themselves against such supernaturally inflicted diseases, and an important element in their security measures is the making of 'Ittals', which has, however, to be combined with animal sacrifice"¹. This is only true with a section of the Savaras of Andhra Pradesh. The Bhina Savara do not have such drawings at all. The Kapu Savaras of the plains of Pathapatnam who have been influenced to a great extent by the Hindu way of life, are out of touch with these drawings and their significance. Only the Kapu Savaras of Seethanpeta and Parvathipuram agency are still found to continue the practice of drawing these patterns. The drawing of a 'Ideesung' generally found in these parts is shown in the figure.

Disease and Cure:

As soon as a person is laid up with fever or is found to suffer from any pain, the first thing a Savara does is to call the 'Kudan' to diagnose the cause of the evil. The method of diagnosis is magico-religious in character.

¹ Tribal Art in Middle India. Dr.Elwin p.p.192

In addition to the use of their indigenous medicines they also resort to magical charms and oblations to cure diseases. A medicine without a magical charm is considered insufficient to avert the evil. Sacrifices are also offered to the numerous evil spirits that are considered responsible for the diseases. The magical charms are so important a part of the treatment that the medicineman recites hymns even before digging up a root or plucking of a leaf for medicinal use. He also recites some hymns before and while administering the medicine to the patient.

When a member of the family is laid up with fever, the Savaras consult the 'Kudan' or the 'Kudanboi' as to the cause of illness. The head of the family goes to the 'Kudan' with a golla of rice and one measure of liquor. The 'Kudan' keeps the rice in a winnowing fan and recites some hymns and invokes the deities and the dead ancestors. As he recites the hymns, he goes into a State of trance and reveals the cause of the illness and the remedy for the same. The 'Kudan' then regains consciousness. Generally such illness and fever are believed to have been caused by the dissatisfied deities and disgruntled dead-ancestors.

Some times their dead ancestors may demand a goat or a buffalo sacrifice to satiate their hunger because their children did not offer them anything since their death. The deities may also ask for sacrifices. According to a Savara, his parents wanted a goat or buffalo to be sacrificed when he asked the 'Kudan' as to the cause of the illness of his son. He reported that his dead parents have

complained "Son why don't you kill a goat or a buffalo and give us some food. Since our death, we are wandering round about your place only with some expectation. But you never cared to give us something to eat. You don't forget that we have tendered you right from your childhood till you are married. Anyhow we will not eat the meat". Thus one is under an obligation to offer either a goat or buffalo at the earliest opportunity to his ancestors. This ceremony is called KINAPIR.

K I N A P I R: The ceremony is performed by the individual families. The head of the family goes to the 'Desari' with a 'solla' of rice and one measure of mohua liquor and requests him to fix an auspicious day for the celebration of Kinapir. After the day is fixed, he purchases one fowl, one goat, one pig and one buffalo as required by the dead ancestors. He keeps 200 seers of rice and 100 seers of dal ready for the purpose. He has to spend some money on the liquor to be offered to the guests. He sends invitations to his relatives a day or two in advance.

The family members clean and plaster their houses and take oil bath. The 'Kudan', the 'Desari', the 'Buyya' and the 'Gamang' fast on that day. One of them draws the design of 'Ideesung' on the wall. They place 5 small and 5 big 'sollas' of rice before the figure. One new dhoti, one new saree, one measure of liquor, turmeric and incense are also kept. The 'Desari', the 'Kudan', and the 'Buyya' sit before the 'Ideesung' along with the head of the family. The

'Kudan' sprinkles turmeric rice and liquor before the 'Ideesung'.

After reciting some hymns, the 'Buyya' sprinkles turmeric rice and liquor on the sacrificial animals. He feeds the fowl and other animals and sacrifices them. The blood of the sacrificed animals is sprinkled before the 'Ideesung'. They cook the hearts of the animals separately and keep them before the 'Ideesung' in adda-leaf plates. 'Bonam' of 2½ seers or 5 seers of rice is also cooked and placed before the 'Ideesung'. The 'Kudan' recites some hymns to invoke the dead ancestors and offers the 'Bonam' and cooked meat to them. Meanwhile the other people cut the meat into pieces and prepare packets for distribution among the relatives. After the 'Kudan' finishes the hymns, they serve the 'Bonam' and the cooked hearts of the animals to the 'Kudan', the 'Desari', the 'Buyya', the 'Gamang' and some elders of the village. Food and meat are then served to other villagers and relatives.

Besides ancestor worship, the Savaras also celebrate many festivals which may be classed into three categories depending upon the nature of the activities associated with these festivals. They are (1) Economic 2) Social and 3) Religious.

The festivals included in the economic category are those connected with the harvesting and the eating of first fruits of the various crops. The festivals connected with

all agricultural and allied operations* are also included in this category. They are:-

1. Kondem Kotha
2. Kandikotha
3. Mami dikotha
4. Tenka Kotha
5. Korra Kotha

The social festivals include those celebrated at the time of birth, puberty, marriage and death. They have been discussed in detail in the previous chapters.

The festivals classified as religious, generally are meant for the propitiation of the numerous deities and spirits by offering sacrifices to them. The festivals are intended to please the deities and thus avert the evils that may befall the community. These festivals are celebrated either by individual families or jointly by the whole village. This generally depends upon the nature of the disease or evil. In case of the epidemics, the festival is celebrated by the whole village to appease the wrath of the deity of epidemics. If an individual family suffers from some disease, they alone offer sacrifices. There are two festivals belonging to this category. They are (1) Vijjidi gonyo 2) Durgapuja.

KONDEM KOTHIA: This festival is celebrated in the month of 'Enḍwa'. The 'Kondem' harvested in the Podu fields is offered to the deities and the ancestor spirits during the celebrations of this festival and then only they eat that crop. The 'Buyya' fixes the auspicious day for its celebration. The women clean and plaster the house with

*The associated rituals are discussed while describing the various livelihood pursuits in the Chapter-Livelihood.

cow dung. All the family members take oil-bath. One of them goes to the field and brings a few 'Kondem' ears, husks them and cooks the grain. They request the 'Kudan' to invoke the deities and the dead ancestors. Small quantities of cooked grain are kept in one small basket (Solla) and 5 leaf plates (Doppalu). Mohua liquor is also kept in 'Jari' (Jug). New clothes intended for their ancestors are also kept in a winnowing fan. The 'Lingor' figure is drawn on the wall and all these offerings are placed before that figure.

The 'Kudan' and the family head sit side by side before the 'Ideesung'. The 'Kudan' chants hymns while playing the musical instrument 'Kudan' singrai'. The head of the family also recites some hymns along with the 'Kudan.' The 'Kudan' now and then sprinkles liquor on all the items of offering and also drinks a little. Meanwhile the women cook the 'bonam' with 'Kondem' grain and prepare curry with tamarind water, gourd etc.

After completing the recitation of hymns, the 'Kudan' feeds a fowl or a goat with the cooked food and sacrifices the same. He sprinkles the blood of the sacrificial animal on the various items of offering. Again he recites some hymns. The women cook the heart of the sacrificed animal and place it before them in an adda-leaf plate. The rest of the meat is cooked separately. The 'Kudan' at the end offers all the food items placed there to the deities and the spirits of the ancestors. Food is first served to the 'Kudan' and then to other members of the family and relatives.

Thereafter they freely eat the 'Kondem' grain.

KANDI KOTHA: This festival is celebrated to mark the ceremonial first eating of the redgram grown in the Poḍu fields. As in the case of 'Kondem Kotha', they plaster the house and take oil bath. Dry redgram ears are collected and husk is separated from the grain. The redgram is cooked and placed before the 'Kudan' along with a 'Solla' of rice and some incense. The 'Kudan' recites some hymns to the tune of the 'Kudan Singrai' to invoke the deities and the spirits of the ancestors and offers the redgram preparation. The axe-deity 'Goddalamma' symbolised by an axe and placed near a tree trunk in the nearby forest is propitiated. The whole village proceeds to that place accompanied by the beatings of drums. 'Goddalamma' is brought to the village and kept in the Buyya's house. After eating their food, they spend the time in song and dance.

In the early morning of the next day, the 'Goddalamma' is taken in a procession to the nearby villages. One of them carries it on his head while others accompany the deity while beating drums. The villagers offer little quantities of rice, which these people collect in a small basket. After going round the village they take back the 'Goddalamma' to its original place in the forest. Rice etc. collected from the villagers is cooked and offered to the deity and after eating food, they return home.

MAMIDE KOTHA: This festival is celebrated in the month of 'Kothamasa'. Only after offering the first fruits to the Hill deities and the ancestor spirits during the festival, they start eating the mango fruits.

The men go to the forest and bring the mango fruits. After cutting the mangoes the slices are kept in a basket. The women cook the 'bonam' (oblation) and place the mango slices and the 'bonam' before the 'Kudan' along with a 'solla' of rice, one 'Jare' (jug) of liquor and incense.

The 'Kudan' sprinkles liquor on the offerings and recites some hymns, playing on the 'Kudan singrai' (Musical instrument). The head of the family also participates in it. After reciting some hymns, the 'Kudan' feeds a fowl or a goat with rice and sacrifices it. He sprinkles the blood on the 'bonam' and the mango-pieces placed in the basket. The women cook the heart of the sacrificial bird or animal and place it before the 'Kudan'. He again recites some hymns, invokes deities and the dead ancestors and offers them food, 'bonam' and other items. Then they serve food to the 'Kudan' and the 'Buyya'. Afterwards others also eat their meals.

TENKA KOTHA: The mangoes are eaten by the Savaras after the 'Madmidikotha'. The Kernels are stored till the month of 'Munukolli (May-June), during which the mango kernels are first offered to the Hill deities and the dead ancestors before eating them. The whole village celebrates this festival at a time. Contributions are collected from all the families in the village and buffalo is purchased for sacrificial purpose.

The 'Buyya' fixes an auspicious day for its celebration. The women clean and plaster the house and all family members take oil bath. The 'Buyya' fasts on that day and cooks 'bhoji' of 2½ or 5 seers of sama grain in a new pot. He takes some liquor and 3 mango kernels and goes to the Jakari deity represented by a stone idol, usually, located a furlong or two away from the village. The villagers also accompany him.

The 'Buyya' places the 'bhoji', the mango kernels and the liquor before the Jakari. The 'Kudan' recites some hymns. He sprinkles liquor on the 'bhoji' and the kernels and breaks the shell of the kernels with a hammer. He again recites some hymns, and sacrifices the buffalo. He sprinkles the blood on the Jakari and kernels. The heart of the sacrificed animal is cooked and placed before the Jakari. The 'Kudan' invokes the deities and offers them cooked heart and 'Bhoji'. The 'Kudan' and 'Buyya' eat the 'bhoji' and various food stuffs and distribute the meat among all families of the village. The idol is taken in a procession to the village with beating of drums. The villagers offer little quantities of rice, dal etc. which are collected in a small basket. After going round the village, they take back the Jakari to its original place in the forest. They cook the rice, dal etc. collected from the villagers, offer a little to the deity and then eat the remaining food.

KORRA KOTHA: The Hill deity (Baru-Sonum) is propitiated before 'Korrалу' (Burroi) are harvested. It is the first crop that is harvested in the 'Podu' fields and only after celebrating the Burroi-Kurrawal, the crops grown in the 'Podu' fields are cut.

Individual families celebrate this festival. On an auspicious day, the head of the family requests the 'Kudan' and the 'Desari' to propitiate Baru - Sonum and gives each one of them a seer of 'Korra' grain to be cooked as 'bonam' (Danki Dingdam). The 'Bonam' is cooked in a new pot and placed in 5 or 9 adda-leaf 'Kopals (Cups). The 'Kudan' and 'Desari' recite some hymns and feed the fowl with rice. If the fowl eats the rice without any hesitation, it is believed that the Baru-Sonum is pleased with their offerings. They sacrifice the fowl and cook its heart. The cooked heart is placed in 5 or 9 'kopals' and again some hymns are recited by them. Meanwhile, the women cook the meat and rice separately. After reciting the hymns, the 'Kudan' and the 'Desari' give a little of the 'Bonam' to the family members and eat the rest. The food and meat are served to the members of the family.

VUJJIDIGONYO: The Savaras celebrate this festival on hearing the news the out-break of an epidemic in the neighbouring villages. They collect contributions from each family and purchase a fowl, a coconut, incense etc. The 'Kudan' propitiates the deities. He cleans and plasters a particular place in the village street and draws white flour lines on the spot. Turmeric rice is prepared by him and

5 grains of the turmeric rice are kept on a leaf in a circular form. The arrangement is covered with a basket and a stone weight is placed over that. He burns incense and invokes the deities.

The 'Kudan' uncovers it the next day morning and notices the direction in which the turmeric rice moved, as that indicates the direction in which the deity of the epidemic should be sent away.

A small cart is made from (boorju' wood and a basket is kept in the cart. A knife, bow and arrow and some figures symbolising the deities and dressed in coloured clothes are also prepared and kept inside the basket. Some flags are also stitched out of old coloured clothes and hoisted on the cart.

The cart is pulled along the street of the village. As the cart moves, the women give some rice, food etc., which are collected in a basket and carried by one of the villagers. All the villagers accompany the cart as it moves to the beating of the drums in the direction indicated by the turmeric rice arrangement. After going 3 or 4 furlongs away from the village, the cart along with the food collected in the basket are left there and the villagers return home. It is believed that the deity of the epidemic wears the clothes and eats the food that is kept there and leaves for a distant village, never to return again.

JAKARI - DURGA:

The deities, Jakari and Durga, are propitiated in the month of 'Dasara'. All the villagers celebrate the festival. The deities are propitiated to ensure that no wild animal spoils their standing crops or kills their people when they move about in the forests and to favour them with timely rains for better crops.

The 'Desari' propitiates the Jakari and the Durga. In some villages, instead of the Savaras, the Jatapus propitiate the Jakari. The Savaras give the Jatapu priest all the requirements and request him to propitiate the deity. This custom is prevalent in the Savara settlements of Manda and Narayandevguda in Seethampet agency and Thadikonda in Parvathipuram agency. But some Savara settlements like the Savaraguda of Balesu in Parvathipur agency have both Jakari and Durga and the Savara priest propitiates them. The headman of the village collects contributions from the villagers and purchases a buffalo and a pig. The former is sacrificed to the Durga and the latter to the Jakari. The 'Desari' and the 'Buyya' go to the outskirts of the village with two knives - one small and another big (representing the deity, Durga). A place near a tree trunk is cleaned and plastered by them. A red cloth is spread and the knives are kept on it. The 'Buyya' sprinkles the liquor and recites some hymns. He breaks a coconut, places 5 to 7 coconut pieces near the knives and sprinkles turmeric rice over them. Again he starts reciting hymns.

The buffalo is brought to that spot and the 'Buyya' sprinkles liquor and turmeric rice on its head and sacrifices it. The sacrificial blood is sprinkled on the two knives. The 'Desari' cooks the heart of the buffalo and offers to the deity.

The 'Buyya' and the 'Desari' share the heart of the animals and the rest of the meat is distributed among all the families of the village. The procedure is the same for the propitiation of the Jakari except the sacrificial animal. Instead of buffalo, a pig is sacrificed to the deity. A calendar of the Savara festivals is given.

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CALENDER OF SAVARA FESTIVALS

Name	Month	Sacrificial Animal/ Offerings	Significance
1	2	3	4
1. Kandi Kotha	Sivarathri (Feb. Mar.)	Cooked rice and Redgram. Goddess Goddamma (Axe) is worshipped during this festival.	They celebrate this festival to mark the first eating of the Redgram grown in the 'Podu' fields.
2. Mamidi Kotha	Kotha Masa (Mar. Apl.)	A fowl or a goat is sacrificed.	After offering the mango fruits to the Hill deities and the dead ancestors during the festival, they eat them.
3. Tenka Kotha	At the out- set of 'Kunnukolli' (May-June)	A buffalow is sacrificed Goddess Goddamma (Axe) is worshipped.	During this festival they first offer the mango kernels to the Hill deities and the ancestors and then only eat the kernels. The entire village community participates and contributes for this festival.
4. Kondem Kotha	Endva (July. Aug.)	A fowl or a goat	The 'Kondem' harvested in Podu fields is offered to the deities and the ancestors, after which the 'Kondem' crop is eaten.
5. Korra Kotha	Bodwa (Aug. Sept.)	A fowl is sacrificed.	Only after celebrating this festival they cut the 'Korralu' crops, grown in the Podu fields. This is celebrated by the families individually.
6. Jakari- durga	Dasara (Oct. Nov.)	A buffalow and a pig are sacrificed.	All the villagers together celebrate this festival. They pray to the deities to see that no wild animal spoils their standing crops or kills their people when they move about in the forests and to shower timely rains for better crops.

11

2

3

4

7.Vujjidi- --
gonyo

A hen is sacrificed. The whole village participates and contributes.

The Savaras celebrate this festival on hearing the news of the outbreak of an epidemic in the neighbouring villages.

L I V E L I H O O D

Both physical and social environments, in which a community lives, determine its economic development, the former represented by the technological attainment of the group and its success against the physical environment and the later by the place of the group in the social setting. To quote Raymond Firth* 'Economic organisation is set in a social frame work of relations between person and groups, expressed in different conceptual ways and with different emphasis, as values, symbols, rules of conduct, pattern of behaviour'*. Besides these social forces the human beings have to encounter the natural forces.

The Savaras live in a difficult environment either way. The terrain of their habitation is hilly, wooded and not much useful for productive purposes. The other social groups are more advanced and economically sound. Most part of the arable land has been alienated by them to the more advanced groups for economic and other reasons. Left out with nothing but hill slopes for 'Podu' cultivation and working for daily wages under the absentee-landlords in their own lands mortgaged to them, their economic position now presents a gloomy picture.

* Elements of Social Organisation, Firth, R.

The various sources of livelihood of the Savaras are as follows:

1. Agriculture
2. Agricultural and forest labour
3. Food gathering and collection and sale of Minor Forest Produce.
4. Hunting and fishing.

OCCUPATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR:

The main occupation of Savaras is agriculture. It has been their traditional occupation. There are a number of subsidiary occupations which supplement their income. Of these, forest labour, collection of Minor Forest Produce, fishing and hunting are worth mentioning. Some of these occupations are seasonal in nature. Not even a single Savara is engaged in non-agricultural pursuits such as manufacturing, trade and commerce, mining, quarrying etc. Now-a-days due to the introduction of Community Development Programmes, the labourers are getting better wages in development works such as road construction, irrigation works, etc. Therefore, some of the Savaras are also attracted towards such works. However, there is no shift in the main occupation of Savaras.

Males, females and children work together to earn their bread. Ploughing is an important agricultural operation specialised by males. Transplantation is mostly done by females and children. Harvesting is undertaken by males alone. Generally, forest labour is undertaken by both the sexes. Minor Forest produce is mainly collected by children and females. The role of Savara woman in economic life is

as important as man because she assists the man in all economic activities besides her domestic work. Children also contribute their might to some extent to add to the family income.

PODU CULTIVATION: Savara agriculture consists of 'Podu' terrace, dry and wet type of cultivations. 'Podu' or shifting cultivation is one of the traditional occupation of Savaras. Recently they have taken up settled terraced cultivation also. Generally they undertake 'Podu' Cultivation on the hill slopes near their villages. The individual families possess two or more plots of 'podu' for alternate cultivation as a single plot can not be utilised for more than 3 years continuously. Mostly the operations in the 'Podu' are undertaken individually. But in some cases, when a family could not undertake the 'Podu' operation by itself, they do it jointly by enlisting the help of other villagers. The owner reciprocates the same. Sometimes remuneration is paid either in cash or in kind.

On an auspicious day of January month, they start the felling operations in the 'Podu' fields. All the trees, except Mango, Caryota (Jeelugu) and such other useful trees, are felled. The tree trunks are cut 2 or 3 feet above the ground level, and the leaves and branches left to dry up. As 'Kothamasa' approaches, in the first week of March, all the 'Podu' cultivators in the village start burning operations. One of the family members goes to the 'Podu' plot and kindles fire at 3 or 4 places and returns home.

It goes on burning throughout the night. If anything is left out they set fire to it again the next day. Almost all of them burn their fields before the onset of monsoon because the water drenched branches and leaves can not be burnt after the monsoon break. Moreover they broadcast the seeds immediately after the first showers of the monsoon.

After 'Kothamasa', the 'Desari' fixes an auspicious day for broadcasting seeds in the 'Podu' fields. 'Magha', 'Chinapunaru', 'Peda Punaru' and 'Bharani' moths are considered auspicious for broadcasting. Usually the whole village broadcasts the seed on the same day. Men and women participate in the broadcasting operations. On the day fixed a man or a woman goes to the field with a 'solla' of rice, a fowl and the seed to be broadcast. He or she keeps the seed in a corner of the field, sprinkles rice and says 'O' Baru-sum jun-jumnai baggigen amam bagsigen amam aganai jammolan appudsir thanyen amam bangsiegen jumjumnai atellende jommolan appusirren adinai attleng gandomi", meaning "O Hill deity don't say that we did not give you anything at the start of broadcasting. See this, eat this. Now we are broadcasting". She feeds the fowl and sacrifices it and sprinkles the blood. Then she broadcasts the seed and returns home.

In the new 'Podu' field only redgram seeds are dibbled in the first year of cultivation. A small hole is made with the hoe-cum-digging stick and 2 or 3 redgram seeds

are dibbled and covered with soil. In the second year they raise a mixed crop of 'Korrалу'¹ 'Uđalu', 'Anavulu'², 'Sama'³ 'Gante'⁴ 'Chodi'⁵ 'Jonna'⁶ and 'Nuvvulu'⁷. The seeds like 'Jonnalulu', 'Anavulu', 'Uđalu' and 'Judume' are dibbled in podu fields with 'Konkiboregi'. The seeds of 'Gante', 'Sama', 'Chodi', 'Jonna', and 'Nuvvulu', are broadcast. They are covered up with soil after either dibbling or broadcasting. They also raise castor and Cucumber in the 'Podu' fields. The seeds sprout as soon as they receive the rains. After the crops grow to 1' or 1½' height weeding operations are undertaken. They first harvest 'Korrалу' followed by 'Uđalu', 'Gantelu', 'Jadumulu', 'Chodi' and 'Jonna'.

Ginger and turmeric are also grown on the hill slopes. Ginger is grown by them for the past several years. But turmeric has been adopted recently after their contacts with non-tribals. Ginger and turmeric pieces are dibbled on the hill-slopes along hill streams and allowed to grow for about 2 years before they are harvested.

DRY LAND CULTIVATION:

Most of the Savaras depend upon rain only to cultivate their fields. They start tilling their lands after the onset of first monsoon rains. The 'Kothamasa' is the auspicious day for the ceremonial first ploughing of their

1. *Setaria Italica*
3. *Panicum miliare*
5. *Eleusine Coracana*
7. *Sesamum indium*

2. *Vicia Faba*
4. *Pennisetum typhoideum*
6. *Sorghum Vulgare*

fields. New plough-shares are fitted to the ploughs before the starting of the first ploughing operations. Early in the morning of the Kothamasa they smear turmeric to their ploughs and make three rounds of furrows in the fields. When there is sufficient rainfall the fields are tilled thrice before broadcasting the seeds. 'Nuvvulu' (Sesamum) mixed with two varieties of redgram ('Tarangdisay' and 'Tamunsay') are broadcast. 40 seers of 'Nuvvulu' and 20 seers of redgram are broadcast in an acre of dry land. Groundnut are also broadcast during the same period. About 40 seers of groundnut are broadcast in an acre.

When Sesamum, redgram and groundnut grow to a height of 1 or $1\frac{1}{2}$ " feet, weeding (teejing) is undertaken in the fields. The 'Boro' is used for weeding. The quality of the crop depends upon the extent of weeding. Sesamum (Jatan), groundnut and redgram are harvested in the month of 'Dasara', 'Karthikam' and 'Palakamma' respectively. 'Sama' is also broadcast in the month of 'Mumukolli'. About 40 seers of 'Sama' are broadcast in one acre. They plough the fields 3 or 4 times and broadcast the seed. A bundle of fresh and tender branches are then drawn over the fields to pull soil over the seeds. Weeding in 'Sama' fields is undertaken in the month of 'Endva' (July-August) when it grows to a height of one foot and the harvesting is undertaken in the month of 'Marthikam'. After cutting the stalks and piling them up, a circular thrashing ground is prepared and the crop is spread over it. 3 or 4 animals - Cows, bulls or buffaloes

are tied into bunches (Janode) and 2 or 3 such 'Janodes' depending upon the quantity of the crop to be harvested are employed to trample the corn stalk. One or two people drive them round and round over the crop spread on the ground. While these 'Janodes' go round and round and trample the grain stalks, the grain fall from the stalks. A few persons will be engaged in removing the straw (alang, alam) and when they are sure that all the grain is separated from the stalks, the straw is removed with the help of a 'Pandrakola'. Then the grain is winnowed (Udid) and brought home.

'Udalu' and 'Chodi' are transplanted. They prepare the seed bed ('Bisotta') in the month of 'Vaisaki'. The 'Bisotta' (Seedbed) is always prepared in a corner of the field. The seedlings can be transplanted after 15 or 20 days of sowing in the seedbed. The lands are tilled 3 or 4 times and transplanting operations are started the rains, when the fields are soaked with water. About 30 people are needed for transplantation in an acre. 3 or 4 ploughs (Bongra) are used for ploughing the water soaked fields. The people transplant 'Vuda' and 'Chodi' seedlings while the 'Bongra' goes round. It is customary with them to till the watered fields from the fringes to the centre along the four sides of the fields. People take positions along the furrow of the plough. As the 'Bongra' makes a furrow, each of them transplants a seedling and the process is continued till the field is completely transplanted. These fields are weeded in the month of 'Endva' and the crops are harvested in the month of 'Dasara'.

WET CULTIVATION:

Seed beds are prepared and paddy seeds are broadcast in the month of 'Visakha'. The fields are then ploughed to prepare them for transplantation (Gussara). They water the fields and conduct operations (Vosenku) with spades (Kuddara) to make the soil soft and loose. These fields are ploughed with a 'Nolla' to remove all the weed and other waste. The fields are again watered and the slushy soil of the field is levelled with the help of 'Sadu'. Seedlings are transplanted in the month of 'Aviti'. Weeding is undertaken in the month of 'Bodua'. The paddy sprouts (Punu) in 'Dasara' and gets fully ripe by the end of 'Karthheekam'. The crop is cut in the month of 'Palakamma' and threshed in the month of 'Sankranthi'.

TERRACE CULTIVATION:

Since the terrain is hilly with undulating slopes, the Savaras practice terrace cultivation also wherever possible. Generally, such terraced fields are found where the hill streams flow from a hill top down below through flat area of fertile soil. The terrace fields of Jodaga Savara settlement in Seethampet Agency area an excellent example of such fields. The Savaras level the field just like steps of a stair case and allow the water to flow from the plot on a higher level to the plot at a lower level. The flaps of a Banana trunk are used as water pipes to allow the free flow of water from one field to other. To level the terrace field sometimes they raise six feet high stone embankments. As some of the hill streams are perennial, a constant flow of water is

assured to the field resulting in very good harvest. Wet paddy is grown in these terraced fields and the method of cultivation is similar to that of the one practiced in the wet lands of the plains areas.

Mr. Fawcett while writing about the terrace cultivation of the Savaras says that "It is not too much to say that paddy is grown on every available foot of arable ground, all the hill streams being utilised for the purpose. From almost the very tops of the hills, in fact from wherever the springs are, there are paddy fields; at the top of every small area few square yards, the front perpendicular revetment (of large masses of stones) some times as large in area as the area of the field and larger and larger, down the hill-side taking every advantage of every available foot of ground there are fields below, fields to the bottom of the valleys. The Savaras show remarkable engineering skill in constructing their paddy fields. They seem to construct them in the most impossible places and certainly at the expense of great labour*." His observations really explain what the Savaras have been doing for the past so many years and are still continuing. Savaras use various types of hays along with dung as manures in the fields. Some of the plants that grow in the wet lands are also used as green manure.

* Journ. Anthropology Society, Bombay I 1901 Quoted by Edgar Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India, PP.306, Vol.VI.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS:

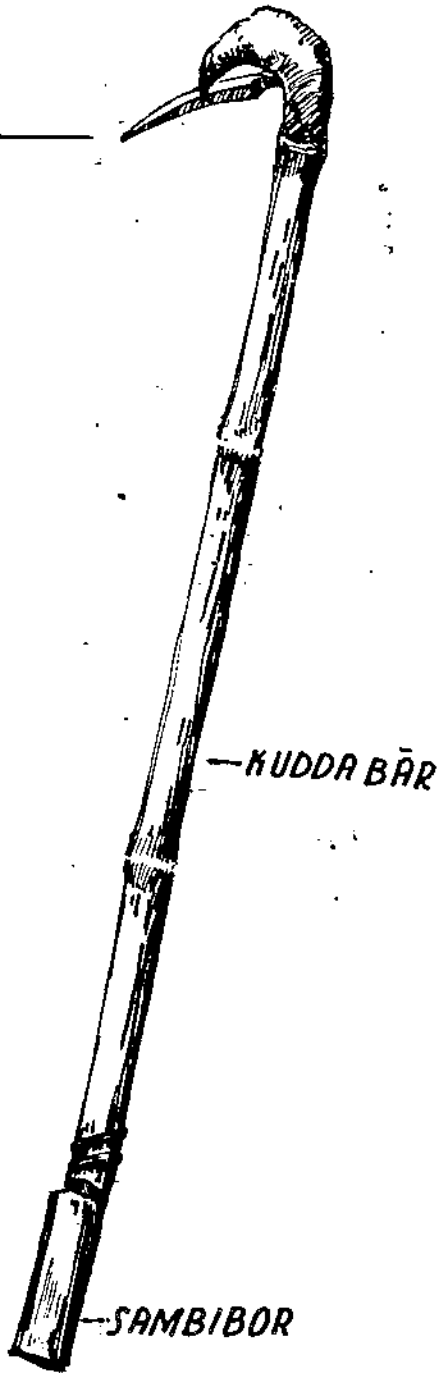
All the agricultural implements used by the Savaras are simple and are mostly manufactured by using indigenous-materials and techniques. Both manufacture and first use of these implements are generally associated with a ritual, thus fortifying its efficacy with supernatural power.

The plough used by the Savaras is just like the one used in the plains areas of the State, but for the smallness of the size and the angle between the shaft and body of the plough. As the draught animals are stunted in growth and the fields are hard and rocky in texture, it will be difficult for the animals to pull the plough if the angle is wide. The whole body of the plough (Emsa) and Yoke (rangom) are manufactured by Savaras themselves. A two hour concentrated work with an axe will enable a Savara to give a definite shape to the plough. He takes the assistance of blacksmith for fitting the plough share (ertum) only.

'Nolla' is an agricultural implement made out of wood. The length of the shaft of the 'nolla' varies between 2½' and 4'. About half a dozen wooden teeth, are inserted into the shaft equidistantly at regular intervals. Another long wooden or Bamboo pole of 8 to 9 feet length is inserted in the middle of the shaft and at the farther end of the pole, the Yoke (Rangom) is tied. It is mostly used in wet land cultivation.

'Sadur' consists of a rectangular wooden plank, the lower border of which is sharpened and the two ends are

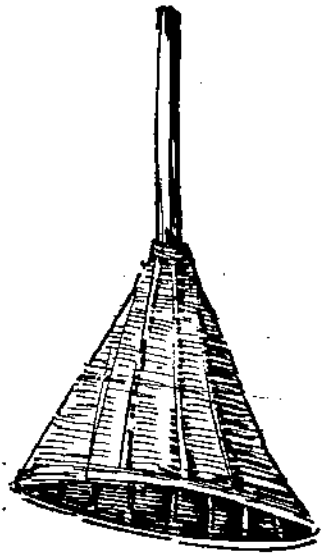
LANO-Abab-bār



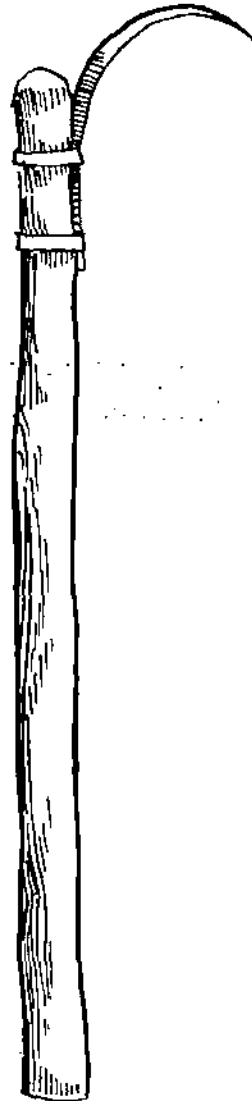
KUDDA BĀR

SAMBIBOR

KONKIBOREGI



DARIYALSOW



PANDRE KOLA
With wooden shaft and iron hook

broader at the base than at the top. A bamboo shaft is inserted in the middle of the plank. The yoke is tied across the shaft at its further end. 'Sadur' is used for levelling the fields.

'Pandrakola' is a long and lean bamboo with a hook at one end. It is generally used to collect paddy straw during thrashing of paddy. Another variety of 'Pandrakola' comprises of a wooden shaft and a curved iron end.

The Savara use 'Koniboregi' (A hoe-cum-digging stick) for dibbling seed in the 'Podu' fields. It consists of shaft (Kuddabor) of a bamboo rhizome with one curved end. The 'lono' a curved and pointed iron piece and the 'Sambibor' a flat and sharpened iron piece are fixed at the curved and straight ends of the bamboo shaft (Kuddabor). The 'lono' is used for dibbling in the 'Podu' fields and the 'Sambibor' for digging and weeding purposes. It is customary with the Savara to change 'Kuddabor' of the 'Konkiboregi' every year before use. The change of shafts is associated with a ritual which is performed by the whole village.

They collect five or ten paise from each family in the village and purchase some liquor. Then the 'Desari' is approached with the liquor to fix an auspicious day for the fetching of bamboo rhizomes from the forest to prepare the 'Kuddabor'. The 'Desari' sprinkles liquor 3 times on the floor and fixes the auspicious day. He again sprinkles liquor 3 times and also drinks a little of it. Then all those present there sip a little quantity each and disperse.

On the day fixed, they go to the forest and bring bamboo rhizomes and prepare the 'Kuddabor'. The 'Desari' is again visited with a request to fix an auspicious day for fixing the metal parts 'asambor' and 'alangbor' to the 'Kuddabor'. The 'Desari' fixes the day. On that day they carry the equipment of the blacksmith to a fixed place. The blacksmith (Lohar or Luar) fasts on that day. The 'Desari' takes along with him one 'Solla' of dal, 1 five paise coin, one measure of liquor and some turmeric pieces. Just before starting of the work the 'Desari' or the blacksmith sprinkles liquor on the floor and drinks a little. He fixes the 'alangbor' and 'asambor'. The 'Desari' and the blacksmith are the first to drink a little of the liquor followed by others. The blacksmith sprinkles the turmeric water on the 'Konkiboregilu' and returns them to their owners. He first returns them to the 'Desari' followed by the 'Buyya', 'Kudan', 'Gamang' and other villagers. Then all of them return to their homes. As the men enter their houses, the women wash their feet and the 'Konkiboregilu' are kept before the 'Iddesung'. Meanwhile the women cook bonam (Oblation) of one seer of rice in a small 'Pattle' and keep it before the 'Lingor'. The deities are invoked by sprinkling liquor after which they have their food. Each family gives one seer of rice, half-seer of dal, 1 seer of redgram to the blacksmith as 'Kadratulu' (Perquisites). He cooks the food at the place of work and eats there. Then he is taken his house along with his equipment. The 'alangbor' and 'asambor' are removed in the month of sivaratri, well in advance of starting operations in the 'Podu' fields.

AGRICULTURE AND ALLIED LABOUR:

Most of them supplement their income from agricultural and forest produce with occasional daily wages. A few Savaras are also been found to work as agricultural farm servants with the land-owners of their own community or under the neighbouring castes or other tribal groups. Some of the boys in the age group of 12 to 15 years or even younger ones are employed as farm servants. The emoluments include food, clothing, tobacco and a few measures of paddy, 'Chodi' or 'Sama'. The payments are made either in cash or kind or both.

When a Savara has to work as a farm servant with a landlord with whom he does not dine or when he is a married person with wife and children to look after, he accepts the kind or cash payment to maintain his wife and children instead of having his food in the employer's house. The amount of cash or kind varies from person to person depending on his working capacity. It ranges from 300 seers to 600 seers per year, when paid in kind.

They also work as agricultural labourers in the fields of tribals and non-tribals. For broadcasting, weeding and crop cutting operations in the 'Podu' fields, a labourer is paid 4 seers per day. Males, females and children above 12 years are paid at the same rates. Children of 10 to 12 years are paid 3 seers of grain for a full day's work. The same wages are paid for weeding in the 'Podu' fields. For harvesting in the 'podu' fields only 2 seers of grain are given for a full day's labour for the adults and 1 seer for

children. It is customary with them to give midday meals to all the labourers at the work spot. For tilling in the wet lands 2 seers are paid for $\frac{1}{2}$ days ploughing and 4 Seers for a full day. Adults are paid two seers for spade work in the wet lands. For transplanting, both males and females are paid 6 seers for a full day and 3 seers for half-a-day. The charges for weeding are the same. For thrashing, 4 seers of paddy are paid per 'janode' (a bunch of animals driven around to trample the harvest spread on the floor), for full day and another 4 seers for the night labour.

The wages for work in the dry lands are a little less. For harvesting some of the crops like 'Chodi' and 'Sama' usually they do not employ any paid labourers. As soon as the tribals of the village notice that such a such a person is harvesting his 'Chodi' field, all the adults and children go to his field and undertake cutting operations, even without informing the owner. Of the crop cut by a person $\frac{1}{3}$ rd goes to him and the remaining $\frac{2}{3}$ rd to the owner of the land.

They also undertake weeding, spade work and transplantation on contract basis. In all such cases people of the same village join together and complete the work.

When a Savara wishes to undertake bunding to convert dry lands into wet lands, all the able bodied persons of the village cooperate with him and undertake the work. In such cases no labour charges are paid. The person benefitted by the work purchases a buffalo or a goat, depending upon his economic position and gives a feast to all the participants of the bunding operations.

Some Savaras also attend to earth work (Gaila). The males are paid 1.12 and females 0.62 paise per day. They also undertake contract labour. The rate for digging a 'gunta' (pit) of 5 yards length and $\frac{1}{2}$ yard depth and $\frac{1}{2}$ yard width is Rs.5/-.

The Bheema Savaras in Sompeta Taluk and Kapu Savaras in Pathapatnam who live in the vicinity of the plains people also supplement their income by the sale of fire wood. Generally, a 'Kavadi' of fire-wood is sold for Rs.1/- or Rs.1-50 ps. and a head load of fire-wood is sold at the rate of 0.50 paise, to 0.62 paise. They have to pay a tax of 0.12 paise for a 'Kavadi' load or 6 paise for head load to the contractor for having allowed them to cut the fire-wood.

DOMESTICATION OF ANIMALS:

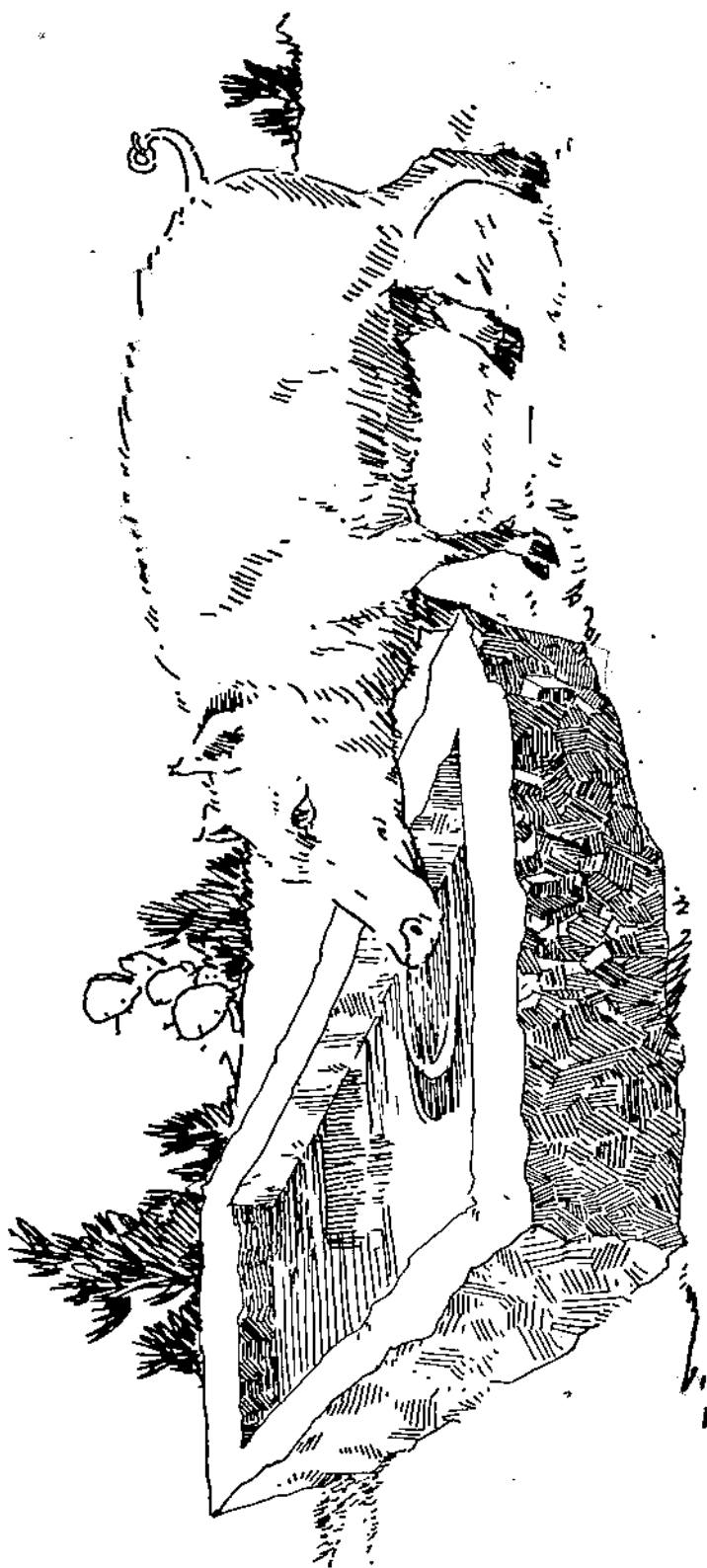
The Savaras have taken to domestication of animals though not on a large scale. Generally land-owners do possess cattle like bullocks, cows and buffaloes for ploughing purposes. Some of the 'Podu' cultivators and agricultural labourers also have cattle. Very few Savaras milk their cattle. It is believed by them that if they milk the cow, the calf will have stunted growth due to lack of sufficient milk. But due to constant cultural contacts with the plains cultivators and agricultural castes living in the vicinity, the Savaras have also gradually started milking their cattle. Another factor that comes in the way of milking is that no Savara or any other tribal in this part is habituated to drink either buttermilk or milk. It is only the plains

men, settled in the agency are habituated to regular milk consumption. Goats and sheep are also domesticated by them. Pigs are domesticated by a few Savaras. Pig-styes are prominently erected in Balesu and Beramguda settlements of Parvathipuram Taluk.

Most of the Savara families own fowls. Usually they do not sell the eggs. They are preserved for hatching. They do understand the economic implications of the sale and brooding of the eggs. As has been described in the chapter on Religion and Festivals the fowls are needed for sacrificial purposes to the numerous deities and spirits on innumerable occasions. It would have been an enormous financial strain on a Savara family budget to purchase chicken on each and every such occasion, but for the brooding they have taken up without selling away the eggs. Dogs are also domesticated by the Savaras and many of them employ dogs during the hunting expeditions.

COLLECTION OF MINOR FOREST PRODUCE:

Minor forest produce comprises of innumerable varieties of vegetables, animal and mineral products of the forest except timber and firewood. Its collection, partial processing and sale provide the Savaras an important subsidiary occupation. But the real importance of minor forest produce lies not in its commercial value but in the manner in which it enables the Savaras to supplement their diet. On an average a Savara family entirely thrives on food gathering and collection of minor forest produce for about 3 months



STONE TROUGH

as the produce harvested in 'Podu' and other fields is meagre and will not be sufficient to sustain the family throughout the year. Its important role in the Savara economy can be gauged from the fact that even the Savara settled cultivators of Sompeta and Pathapatnam Taluks have not abandoned this source of their livelihood.

Savaras collect minor forest produce like tamarind, hillbrooms, myrobalans, hill-jute fibre (Konda Janapanara) Addaleaves, Mohua flowers, Beedi leaves etc. for sale to the Andhra Scheduled Tribes Cooperative Finance and Development Corporation.

Some of the Savaras weave ropes from the hill-jute fibre and sell them in the weekly markets between February and May. Mohua flowers are collected for sale and domestic use as well. The Andhra Scheduled Tribes Cooperative Finance and Development Corporation has monopoly rights over the purchase of minor forest produce throughout the Savara Country.

EDIBLE FOREST PRODUCE:

The predominantly cereal diet of the Savara is supplemented and balanced by the inclusion of edible fruits, leaves, seeds, tubers, roots, and flesh of wild animals that are obtained from the forest. They are eaten either raw or after processing them. Some of the important forest products, their use and processing and described below:

KAGU OIL (KARANJA):

Kagu trees usually grow around and along the banks of rivers and hill streams. The fruits are plucked from the trees in the month of 'Dolu Pournam'. While the husband climbs up the tree and plucks the fruits, the wife stands beneath the tree and collects the fruits. They extract the seeds by breaking the outer cover of the sun-dried fruits. The seeds are dried in the sun, ground into powder, and cooked in a pot of boiling water. Two pots, one over the other are kept on a hearth. A small hole is made in the bottom of the upper pot and it is covered with a bamboo 'dalli' placed on top of the lower pot. The powder is placed in the upper-pot and covered with a bamboo 'dalli'. The lower pot is filled with water up to ³/₄ of its volume and intervening space between the two pots is smeared with mud to prevent steam from escaping. The water in the lower pot is heated and the steam enters the upper pot through the hole in the bottom and the powder in it is cooked to a sticky paste. The paste is then transferred into a basket (Solla) and taken to an oil extractor.

The oil extractor (Erralme) consists of two rectangular wooden planks, one placed over the other. The lower one has got a groove in which the paste is kept for pressing and through which oil flows out into the collecting pot. The two planks are arranged near a tree trunk. A wooden beam is kept across the planks with one end fixed in a hole cut in the tree trunk and to the other end sufficient weight is attached to exert pressure on the upper plank. Due to this

pressure the paste in the groove gets pressed and oil is squeezed out. By this crude method all the oil content of the paste cannot be extracted. This oil is used for hair dressing, lighting lamps, as a substitute for Kerosene and as a medicine for skin diseases like eczema, scabbies etc.

MOHUA OIL (TUDAME):

The Savara forest habitat abounds in Mohua trees. They also grow in the podu fields. The seeds are extracted by breaking the outer cover of the sun-dried Mohua fruits with a wooden hammer. Again the seeds are dried in the sun and ground into a powder. Oil is extracted in the same way as described above.

MOHUA FLOWERS (ABAN):

Mohua flowers which are available from February onwards are sun dried and fried in oil to make a curry. A sweet gruel (Dinglba) is also cooked by boiling the dry Mohua flowers in water.

MOHUA LIQUOR (ABASALAM):

Mohua trees besides presenting a pleasant sight during flowering season, fill the Savaras 'Cup of liquor'. While quenching his thirst it gives enjoyment to his life. Without mohua liquor Savara life would be drab and monotonous.

The sun dried mohua flowers are soaked in water for 3 or 4 days and then transferred into the lower pot of the indigenous distillation apparatus called Derin-ba-sal. It consists of two pots one for boiling the water soaked

Mohua flowers with the other pot placed over it in a topsy turvy position as a cover. The intervening space is plastered with mud to prevent steam from escaping. A bamboo tube is fixed in a hole made in the side of the upper cover pot. The other end of the bamboo tube is kept in a receiving pot which is constantly cooled by the water trickling from a water pouring arrangement. The whole apparatus is set up near a hill stream to ensure constant flow of water. The lower pot containing the water soaked mohua flowers is heated on a hearth. The vapours of the mohua liquor escape through the bamboo tube into the water cooled receiving pot where the vapours are condensed to liquor. The liquor thus distilled will be very strong. The purity of the liquor is tested by sprinkling it on a flame. Pure liquor burns with a flash without giving smoke. The pure liquor is diluted with water and drunk.

DATE TODDY (SINDASALAM):

Date toddy is tapped by cutting a groove in the neck of the tree and the trickling toddy is collected into a pot tied near the groove. They tie the pot in the evening and bring it down in the next morning.

PALMYRA TODDY (SIMANGSALAM):

The tip of the tender peduncle of the palmyra bunches are trimmed and the trickling toddy is collected into a pot tied in position to the bunch. Jeelugu (Caryota) toddy is also tapped in the same way.

JEELUGU (SALPAM):

Jeeluga (Eng. Caryota) trees are found abundantly in the forests and on the hill slopes of the Savara country. They powder the pith of trunk and prepare gruel with it besides tapping toddy from the 'Jeelugu' tree. Whole village undertakes the felling of these trees as individual families can not cut them. After cutting the trunk into pieces, the pith is powdered with a 'guttam' and the dried powder is again ground into flour with the help of a 'Ranisi'. Gruel ('Thungda') is prepared by boiling the flour with water. Some of them mix Chodi powder with the Jeelugu flour and prepare the gruel. Salt and chillies are added before drinking it.

VEDURU MUVVA (Tabang):

The 'Tabang' are the tender bamboo shoots which grow at the roots of the bamboo trees. They bring them from the forest in the month of 'Dassara'. After removing the outer cover, the shoots are cut into pieces and boiled with water till they become soft. Water is drained out and fried in oil along with salt and chillies. It is eaten with rice.

R O O T S:

NARA THEEGA (Tummang):

The root of the creeper which will be as long as 6 to 10 feet is found deep in the earth. After digging the root, the skin is removed and cut into pieces. Gruel is prepared (Tummang-jav) by boiling them with water. They drink it after adding salt.

BELLI KA THEEGALU (PAROV) & NOOLU THEEGALU (BABO):

The roots of these creepers are available in plenty in the forest after 'Dasara'. They are cooked in water and eaten after adding salt and chillies.

Pondi Teegalu (Vond rayalu)
Donda Theegalu (Marsa)
Kasa Theegalu (Tulba)
Palleru Theegalu (Paro)
Gone Theegalu (Marigidi)

The roots of all these creepers are available after 'Kothamasa' for about 2 months. The roots are boiled in water and the skin removed. They add salt and eat either with rice or alone.

ARIKA THEEGA (GADO):

The roots are collected in the month of Dasara. They are cleaned in a water current and boiled. After adding salt and pepper they eat them.

T U B E R S:

DULAKANDA (Kanda):

This tuber is available in the month of 'Dasara'. It is grown in the forest and in the back yards of the houses as well. After scrapping the skin, it is cut into pieces and boiled with tamarind water to remove the itch producing juice. It is eaten either with rice or gruel.

DOLDUMPA (DOLDI PETKA):

These are available in the months of 'Karthikam' and 'Palkarma'. They boil them in water and remove the skin. The tuber contains some itch producing substances which are eliminated by the following procedure. After applying cow dung to the palms and hands, the boiled tubers are cut into pieces and mixed with cow dung. They are cleaned by washing them in the running waters of a nearby stream. Again the same

cleaning process is repeated 3 or 4 times till all the itch producing substances are washed off. They add tamarind water, salt, chillies and eat.

SARE KANDA (Sarugay):

Small pieces of the tuber are burried in 'Podu' fields and hill slopes. When it grows into a big tuber, it is dug out. It is cut into pieces and boiled in water to prepare the gruel. They add salt and pepper to taste and eat.

PENDALAM (Ganuga):

This is grown in the backyards of the houses and the 'Podu' fields. Gruel is prepared by cutting it into pieces and boiling with water. Sometimes they mix it with redgram, dal, chillies and salt and eat it.

KANDAMULAM (Ganu):

It is also grown in the backyards and 'Podu' fields. This is boiled in water to prepare gruel. Sometimes the raw tuber is burnt in the hearth, cut into pieces and eaten.

CHEDU DUMPA (Buti):

They are available in the forest between 'Dasara' and 'Kothamasa'. After digging up the tuber, it is cut into pieces, cooked in water and eaten.

KARRA DUMPALU (Agagai):

They can be secured after 'Dasara'. After cooking them in water, salt and chillies are added to taste.

CHILAGADI DUMPALU (Ganugai):

These tubers grow in the forest throughout the year. They are also grown in the backyards in the month of 'Aviti'. The skin is removed after boiling them in water and salt is added to taste.

PULIDUMPALU (Petaka):

They are dug up after 'Dasara'. The boiled tuber is cut into pieces after removing the outer skin and then soaked in water for a whole night. They are cooked in tamarind water next day and served.

PANDIMUTULU (Adap):

'Aviti' is the best month of digging them in the forest. The raw tuber is burnt in the hearth and eaten. Some of them boil it in water, remove the skin and then cut into pieces. Salt and chillies are added to taste.

S E E D S:

BAMBOO SEEDS (Tabagur):

The seeds are collected from the bamboo clums. They cook the seeds and eat after adding pepper. Sweet gruel is also prepared by cooking bamboo seeds with jaggery.

MANGO SEEDS:

During the month of April they eat the mango fruits after celebrating the 'Mamidi Kotha' festival and store the seeds in a corner of the house. After celebrating the 'Tenka Kotha' (Ceremonial first eating of seeds) festival also they eat the mango kernels. The kernels are removed by

breaking the outer cover of the seeds and soaked in water until they become soft. The soft kernel is dried and powdered in a mortar. The powder is transferred to a basket and washed in the running waters of a stream to remove the bitter taste of the powder.

This powder is used for making 'Rottees' and gruel. To prepare the cakes, salt and chillies are added to the powder and mixed with water to make a paste. This paste is made into thick round cakes. The cakes are wrapped in Adda leaves or some other leaves and fastened with a thread. Then they bake them in the hearth and eat. The gruel is prepared by boiling the powder with water. After adding salt and chillies the gruel is drunk. The powder is stored for future use and also substituted for their staple cereal food during lean years.

ADDA EJJALU (Rado):

The seeds are collected from Adda creeper in the months of 'Sivarathri' and 'Palakamma'. The seeds are red in colour and resemble a rupee coin in shape. They either fry or burn these seeds, and then boil them in water to remove the skin. Salt and chillies are added to taste.

JEEDI PIKKALU (Gidingloi):

These nuts are collected from the forest in the month of 'Kothamasa'. After breaking the outer shell the kernel is taken out and eaten raw.

TAMARIND SEEDS (Teeteboru):

The seeds are fried and then ground to flour in a mortar. The flour is cooked in water to prepare gruel.

TEEKA KAYALU (Gade):

The fruits are collected from the forests and the seeds taken out. The seeds are burnt in fire to remove the shell. The kernel is taken out and ground to flour. The flour is cooked in water until it becomes a paste and then salt and pepper are added to taste.

MUSHROOMS:

These are called 'Kukkulu' and they spring up from the decomposed matter in forest areas. Some of them are poisonous while some are edible. They are of varying sizes and shapes. Savaras supplement their diet with the non-poisonous edible mushrooms. The various kinds of edible mushrooms available in Savara country are described below:

PUTTA KUKKULU (Banumsur):

These small umbrella shaped mushrooms spring up from the ant hills after rains in the month of 'Aviti'. After cooking them in water, they add salt and pepper to taste and eat along with rice.

GUGGILAM KUKKULU (Sargivapit):

These sprout from the decomposing 'Guggilam' tree branches. They are available for about two months starting from the month of 'Endva' and grow in groups to different sizes. After removing the stems, the head portions are cooked with salt and pepper. It is eaten either with rice or gruel.

NEREDU KUKKULU (Kurgapit):

These sprout in the month of 'Aviti' from the fallen 'Neredu' trees. They are thick and larger in size with the diameter ranging from 3 to 4 inches. The stems are removed and after cutting the head portion into pieces; they are cooked in water. They are eaten with rice or gruel after adding salt and pepper to taste.

GADDI KUKKULU (Alampit):

They spring around heaps of hay in the month of 'Aviti'. These are small in size and their preparation and use are the same as described above.

Nookala Kukku (Lakkisarpit)	} All these spring up from the ant-hills. While the first two varieties are available in the month of 'Aviti' the other two are available in the month of 'Dasara' and
Aviti Kukku (Tarropit)	
Dasara Kukku (Dasara Pit)	
Endva Kukku (Dobuva Pit)	

Endva respectively. The first variety is the smallest of all, while the other three varieties are bigger in size with the diameter varying from 2" to 4". The method of preparation is similar to the one described above. In addition to the above described mushrooms, the Savaras also eat Veduru Kukku or bamboo mushrooms (Urungjampit) and Etha Kukku or Country date mushrooms (Sindineripit). These spring up in the month of 'Aviti' and rainy season from fallen bamboos and date palm trunks respectively.

L E A V E S:

FULLERU (Arangda):

These leaves are collected in the month of 'Kothamasa'[†]. After cutting them into pieces they are cooked in water and salt and pepper added to taste. Savaras eat them with rice or gruel. The dried leaves are ground into flour and stored for future use. The powder is also used as a substitute of tamarind.

JANAPA (Susuna) AND BODANDAN (Baredan):

The two varieties of leaves are collected in the months of 'Aviti' and 'Kothamasa' respectively. After cutting them into pieces, they are boiled in water and salt and pepper are added to taste.

MULAGAKU (Kurivola):

They are available throughout the year. A sort of soup is prepared by grinding the leaves into a paste and boiling the paste in tamarind water.

GURIM (Durod) AND CHILLERU (Vurbongde):

These are available in the month of 'Aviti'. The leaves are ground into paste and added to boiling tamarind water to prepare soup.

THUMMIKA (Tarivol):

The leaves are cut into small pieces and cooked. Pepper is added and eaten with rice or alone.

AVISE:

After cooking the leaves in water, pepper and salt are added to taste and served with food.

F R U I T S:

The Savara country abounds in various kinds of fruit trees. Some fruit or other is available throughout the year. Some of the Savara favourite fruits are described below:

MANGO (Vude):

Mangoes are available after 'Kothamasa'. After eating the fruits the seeds are stored for the kernels which are used in the preparation of gruel.

NEREDU (Korugath):

They are available after 'Kothamasa'. While the juicy portion of these black fruits is eaten, the seed is thrown away.

JARUMAMIDI (Taran):

These are also available after 'Kothamasa'. They are small in size, black in colour, sweet to taste and occur in bunches.

KOSIMI (Bansu):

Fruits are available from the month of 'Visakha', onwards for about two months. They are round in shape, white in colour and sour to taste. Oil is also extracted from the seeds.

PULLERU (Adingunda):

The fruit will be available after 'Aviti' for about one month. They are very small in size, black in colour, sweet to taste, and always occur in bunches. The juice is sucked and the seed is thrown out.

TUMBUKA (Taren):

They will be available after Sankranthi for about two months. These are round in shape, orange yellow in colour and sweet to taste. After peeling off the skin, the juicy portion is eaten and the seeds are thrown out.

UDIKA (Ankulla):

'Visakha' month is the season for these fruits. They are black in colour and sweet to taste.

KOMARANGI (Elda):

Their best season is between 'Sankranthi' and 'Sivaraathri'. These are small in size, red in colour and sweet to taste.

PARMITI (Kanteesi):

These are black in colour, sweetishsour to taste and are of the size of a redgram seed. The skin is eaten as they do not contain any juice. They are available in the month of Palakamma only.

REGU (Murega):

This fruit will be ripe in the month of 'Sankranthi' skin and flesh are eaten while the seed is spat out.

DABBA (Soukaya):

Their season is for about 3 months from 'Karthikaa' onwards. Skin is peeled off and salt and chillies are added to taste.

CHEEDI (Volyjang):

These sweet and red fruits are available in the month of 'Palakamma'. These fruits are either burnt on fire or sun dried before eating.

DUKKA PIKKALU (Dunge):

There are two varieties - 'Balbel Dunge' and 'Gatha Dunge'. The latter produces itching sensation in the mouth. The former are fried when they are fresh and tender. These are cut into pieces like beans and then fried with salt and chillies. From the dry fruits they extract the seeds and boil them to remove the shell. The Kernel is fried with salt and chillies. The 'Gatha dunge' seed is boiled to remove the shell and the kernel is boiled five or six times to get rid off the itch producing substances. Then they are fried and eaten after adding salt and chillies.

In addition to the above mentioned fruits, Savaras also collect and eat fig fruits (Luvagur), date fruits (Sindgur), Palm fruits and last but not least tamarind fruits (Titigur). Tamarind is an important ingredient of many curries and other eatable prepared by the Savaras. It is the most important minor forest produce exported from this agency area. Plantain fruits are the most nutritious fruits grown in the Savara country. They are also offered for sale. Thus while supplementing their diet these fruits balance their budgets also.

The Savaras grow numerous varieties of vegetables in their back yards and kitchen gardens. Some of these vegetables

and the methods of preparation of a few vegetable curries are described below:

GOURD (Kilalan):

The long creepers bear gourds of various sizes. The Savaras eat some of them, sell a few and store some more for future use. They are sliced into small pieces and boiled in water. After adding salt, pepper and tamarind to the boiled pieces, they are fried in oil. If they eat it with solid foods like rice, the texture of the curry would be fluid and vice versa.

PUMPKIN (Kuv):

They eat them fresh without storing them for future use. The preparation of curry is similar to the preparation of gourd curry.

Pumpkin leaves (Kodam) and Gourd leaves (Killayolam) are also used for making curries. The leaves are cut into pieces and boiled in water. After removing the water, salt and pepper are added to taste and eaten along with rice.

GREEN PLANTAINS (Kinta):

After peeling off the skin, the plantains are cut into pieces and boiled. Salt and pepper are added to the boiled pieces and eaten with rice. They also prepare gruel with plantains by boiling the pieces in water and stirring them with a wooden spoon.

BRINJAL (Endaram): Brinjals are grown from August to November. The method of preparation is similar to the one described above.

CARPENTRY:

Most of the Savaras know carpentry in the crude sense of the term. It takes two to three hours for a Savara to make a plough with his axe alone. He also makes other agricultural implements like Yoke, Leveller etc. all by himself without any outside help. They are also experts in making window frames and doors. A Savara in 'Kannayaguda' has beautifully carved his window frames and doors with a set of equipment personally acquired by him. They also prepare their own cots from the timber available in the local forests.

BASKET MAKING (THIENTHEI):

Some of the Savaras know basket making very well. But they do not do it for sale. They collect bamboo and weave 'Dangu', 'Gade', 'Solla' and such other articles used for their domestic purposes. The Savaras who do not know basket making purchase their requirements in the weekly shandies.

HUNTING (BENTA OR VETA):

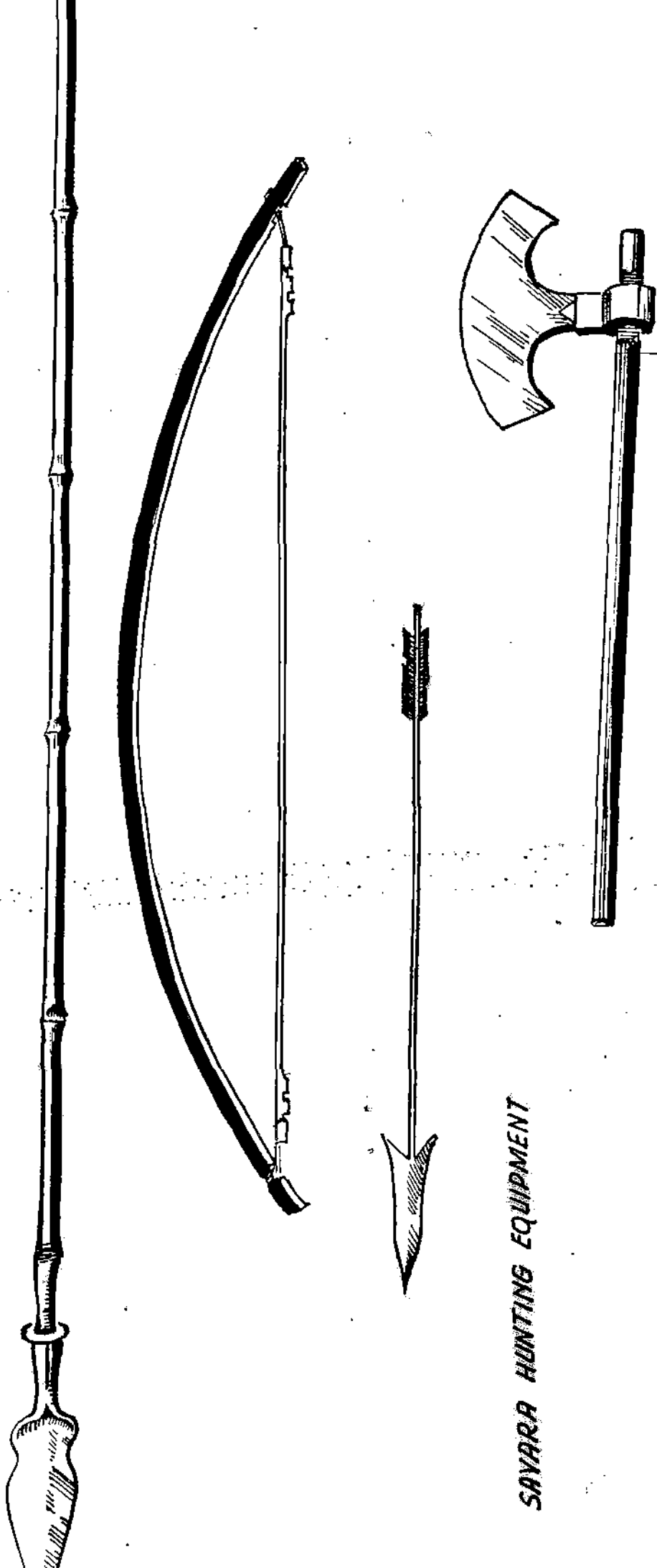
The Savaras have been described as expert hunters. They always carry either a bow and arrow in their hands or a 'Kondi' (small knife) in their waist belts. But hunting does not form an important source of their livelihood. Occassionally their diet is supplemented with the game they hunt from the forest. As shunting consumes lot of time and success is not always assured it is resorted to only during non-agricultural seasons and other leisure periods. Ceremonial hunting expeditions are also undertaken during the month of 'Kothamesa' i.e., celebration of 'Chaitra' festival or 'Itimi' festival.

In this connection it should be mentioned that strict enforcement of the forest rules limiting the area of operation has caused them great hardship. When they are prohibited from entering the reserve forest (the home of a great number and a variety of animals) for hunting, they are deprived of all the possible sources of hunting. The Forest officials are found to claim a share in their meagre game alleging that it has been hunted in the reserve forest.

As has been described earlier, the Savaras are also traditional hunters. The Savara word for arrow is 'Ser aam'. The Savara elders train their children in the art of hunting right from childhood. As soon as they grow 12 to 14 years, the children set out for hunting of small birds and animals in company of 2 or 3 boys of their age group. A Savara woman neither hunts nor accompanies such a party. It is mainly the field of their men and these hunting expeditions are planned either individually or in groups. The individual hunters always limit their area of operations to the less dense forest and to small birds and animals.

The Savaras use different types of bows and arrows for the hunting of different kinds of animals at different times. Wooden arrow (Kadosi) is used during night time for hunting small birds. The 'Kadosi' is always associated with a kind of bow which has a bamboo reed in place of the string of the ordinary bow. Arrow with an iron head can also be shot from this type of bow. It is known as 'Nyenga'.

The Savaras are well acquainted with animal lore and their habits. They can easily point out the type of bird or



SAYARA HUNTING EQUIPMENT

animal from the nature of the sound produced by it. The regular timings of the wild animals coming to the hill streams for water are carefully watched and the hunters hide themselves in the nearby bushes of water source with bows and arrows. The routes and habits of the wild animals are quite familiar to them and their track is closely followed while hunting them. For example, a hill goat (Aliv) always wishes to ease its bowels only at a particular place. Whenever it moves out for grazing it is sure to return to the same spot to ease itself and makes a peculiar sound while searching the place because it suffers from abdominal pain during that uneasy period. After marking this place of regular defecation of the hill goat the Savara waits in hiding to shoot it. Hill fowls are domesticated and used in hunting birds of the same type. It is believed that the rabbit has taken an oath not to cross the newly cut branches of any tree even when it is hunted after. That is why they arrange the nets and cover on either side with tender branches. Savaras also know that a rabbit looks startled and stands still on hearing peculiar sounds, or seeing glowing light during the nights. Taking this as an advantage the rabbit is hunted during the nights.

A party of 3 or 4 Savaras go out for hunting peacock, 'Guvva' (Partridge), hill-fowl, 'Polugulu', 'Sosocheda' - a small black bird & Hill-goat, Rabbit and Hill cat. These animals and birds are found out from the peculiar sounds they make and shot at with bows and arrows.

Therengthee:

2 or 3 Savaras set out in a party during nights for hunting. Either bamboo reeds or 'gogu' reeds (seku) are collected and tied with adda fibre (Raalu) or Palm fibre (Vunku). One end of this bundle is lighted and used as a torch to locate the birds sleeping on the tree branches and shoot the birds with the 'Kodesi'.

There is another type of bow, not associated with any arrow. It has a double string of 'Jeelugu' fibre. They use a special type of clay (Labo) to make small balls 'Gudissa' to be shot out from the bow. This type of bow is called 'Guddissa-nyenga'. The clay balls are stored in a bag (Ganjya) and hung on to one's shoulder. With this 'Gudisanyenga' only small birds like 'Guvva' and 'Jemudu-kakulu' (Koda) are hunted.

Pithadakka:

A special type of snare (anudang) is prepared for catching birds. This type of net is specially designed for hunting wild partridges (Kamsinjoda) with the help of the pet-ones. A bamboo reed is bent into an inverted 'U' shape and a thread is woven into a square shape and attached to the bent reed at four points. A horse hair is tied in a loose knot to the central portion of the 'U' shaped reed. A number of such reeds joined together form the above type of net. The same kind of birds and animals they intend to hunt are domesticated so as to use them as bait to attract the birds of their kind. For example, a domesticated 'Kamsinjoda' or a hill-fowl is used for hunting birds of their own kind. After spreading

the net in the forest, the domesticated bird or animal is kept in a cage and placed in the centre of the net. The hunters sit behind the cage and produce vocal sounds similar to those produced by the bird. The domesticated bird is thus instigated to cry. Its counter-part in the forest runs nearer to it to fight and in the process either its head or its neck will be caught in the 'anulangi' and the man hiding behind the bush takes the opportunity to shoot the bird. The opportune time for hunting these birds is either early morning or late in the evening.

Janid:

The sticky gums that ooze from some of the trees are also used for catching some of the birds. The milk like ooze from the 'Ravi' (Pippal) tree (Vanju) is collected and boiled thoroughly to make a paste (Jigida). Small bamboo reeds are prepared and the gum (Jigida) is smeared all over the reeds. These reeds are then placed near the clusters of fruits in the branches of the 'Pippal' trees. The 'Polugu' or 'Pachapavuram' (Dhammul) or Kakipolugu (Kakadum) or (Guvva' (Kakkur) or 'Gorinka' (Kodemkom), comes into the 'Ravi' branches to eat the 'Vanju' fruits. As soon as the bird touches the fruit cluster a part of the body sticks to the gum on the reed. Any amount of effort cannot relieve it from the gum. Ultimately, the birds fall down under the tree. The people hiding near the tree collect them and return home. This type of hunting is undertaken by individuals during day time.

Anudeng benthā:

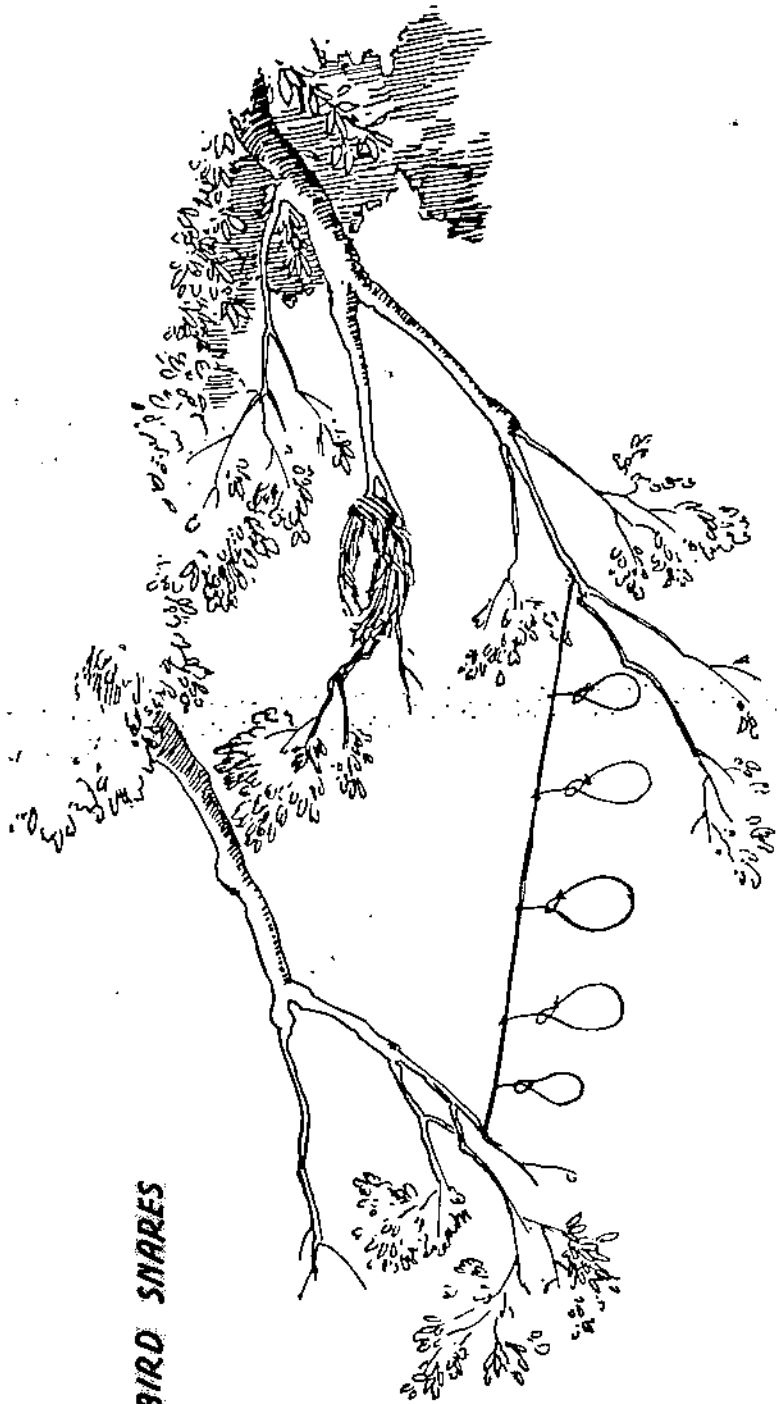
They fasten the 'Luva' (loose and sliding knot snare) to two branches near a bird's nest. Two or three 'anudeng' (sliding loop snares) may be hanging from the 'luva'. When the birds fly down on to their nest, either their neck or legs are sure to be caught in the 'anudeng'.

Thogalana benthā:

A party of 3 or 4 Savaras undertake hunting of 'Pander' (Hare) during nights. One of them collects fire into an earthen plate, which is in turn placed in a 'dangu'. This serves as a source of light for the party. The fire also startles the hare. Another person operates the 'Thalalu' (cymbals). The 'Pander' looks startled at the strange noise of the 'Thalalu'. The other person takes the opportunity to shoot at the startled and immobile 'Pander' with a small stick.

Pander Benthā:

They prepare a net 'Jalla' with jute fibre and use it for hunting rabbits. The 'Jalla' resembles a rectangular bag open on one side only. About 20 to 30 Savaras take part in this 'Pander benthā' or rabbit hunting. Three or four 'Jallas' are fixed apart at a distance of 50 to 100 yards in between them in different directions and four upright sticks are placed to support the 'Jalla' with its mouth wide open. The tender branches of a tree are placed on either side of the 'Jalla'. Then one or two people hide behind the 'Jalla' and the rest go out into the forest for a beat. They move in the direction of 'Jalla' and the rabbit frightened by the din



BIRD SNARES

produced by the hunting party jumps into it without crossing the tender branches. As soon as the 'Pander' enters the 'Jalla' the upright sticks fall down with the result that the animal is caught inside. The people watching from behind the bush kill it with sticks.

During harvest time of the dry and wet crops, especially in the Podu fields, the wild animals spoil the crop during night times. To stop the menace of these wild animals the Savaras use 'Bombukayalu' (explosives), sold by some local people. The raw elementary canal of the goat is tied round these 'Bombukayalu'. They also powder crabs (Kina) and smear the powder round them. The goats elementary canal with its contents emits peculiar smell and attracts the wild animals. The 'Bombukayalu' are kept at certain points near the fields, usually in the evenings after the return of their cattle from the forest from grazing to avoid accidental injuries. During nights wild bear, foxes (Kullu) hyenas (Kisarkuy) and wild dog (Volla) chance to move around the place of the 'Bombukayalu' and are tempted by the smell. As soon as they hold it in their mouth it bursts causing severe wounds. People rush to the place after hearing the sound and kill the wounded animal. If they do not hear the sound they get up early in the morning, and collect and bring back the 'Bombukayalu' before either cattle or people go to the fields to avoid accidental injuries. It is generally undertaken by individual hunters.

The Savaras undertake the ceremonial hunting during the month of 'Kothamasa'. Savaras of the particular village

extend invitations to the tribals of neighbouring villages for participation in the communal hunting. They take with them handsticks, licensed and unlicensed guns, bows and arrows and a 'Kondi' (small knife). Nobody participates in the hunting expedition without carrying any hunting equipment.

The hunting party departs to the forest at an auspicious moment and selects the forest area which is likely to have good game for their operations. A few persons armed with guns are posted at strategic points, while the rest of the people form a circle and march on a beat. A din is raised by Yelling out at the top of their voices and also by producing peculiar sounds imitating the different animals inhabiting the forest in order to terrify the animals and make them come out of their hiding places. The persons armed with guns carefully watch for the animals and as soon as the animal approaches them they aim and shoot it. They carry back the hunt and distribute flesh among the participants. An extra share goes to the owner of the gun and the person who shot the animal.

During summer season a batch of 10 or more Savaras set out for hunting 'Karukollu' (Wild fowls). They do not carry any weapons, excepting handsticks. The presence of the 'Karukollu' (Wild fowls) is detected on the branches of the tree by the sounds they produce. The handsticks are thrown at perching birds and the wild fowl flies for its life. The bird is chased till it gets tired and starts walking on the ground. They kill it, and bring it home and distribute among themselves.

During non-agricultural seasons like Summer, they more or less regularly go out for hunting either individually or in batches of 5 to 10 people. Savara workers may also come across a chance game during their work in the forest and succeed in killing it. A Savara of Malluguda encountered a tiger cub while drinking water in a stream, on his way back from his 'Podu' field and killed it with his axe and brought it home.

Some of the varieties of animals and birds which the Savaras generally hunt are given below. Of all the birds and animals they hunt snakes, 'Guvva' (Partridges) and 'Polugupitta' (a variety of birds) are very much relished. The other birds and animals are:-

1. Snakes (Ja) all non-poisonous.
2. Tigers (Kina)
3. Ferret or Wild cat (Bov)
4. Hare (Pander)
5. Wild goat (Alev)
6. Boar (Kandringga)
7. Antelope (Pergda)
8. Bear (Kambo) Dead losses only are eaten as they do not kill them.
9. Wild buffalo or Bison (Karu Gedu)
10. Partridge (Kinsda)
11. Wild cock (Kandringyee Kaseem)
12. Turtle (Kulu)
13. Black Monkey (Harri)
14. Vullibamulu (Bamboo)
15. Fowl (Kaseem)
16. Buffalo (Bangthyl)
17. Goat (Kimme)
18. Sheep (Menda)
19. Pig (Kambo)
20. Owl (Kattoi)

21. Peacock (Mana)
22. Guvvalu (Kakkur) A type of bird.
23. Polugupitta (Dumul) -do-
24. Puredupitta (gudi) -do-

They also eat fish (ayo) and crab (Kinav), The Savaras are prohibited by custom to eat the followings:

1. Fox (Kullu)
2. Cat (Rameng)
3. Dog (Kitsov)
4. Race dog (Olla)
5. Horse (Kusto)
6. Donkey (Gaditha)
7. Elephant (Ra)
8. Frog (Kindoo)
9. Red Monkey (Karo)
10. Kite (Adang)
11. Crow (Kaka)
12. Vulture (Rampotu)

FISHING (SALA)

Fish, another delicacy of Savara diet are caught in small streams, water clogs and lakes and ponds spread in the pockets of forests. Though fishing is another source of their livelihood, it does not form an important part of their income. The rivers, hill-streams, tanks and ponds are the sources of their fishings. Both men and women participate in fishing. Children also assist their parents. Women do bunding while men actually undertake fishing. They use stones, mud and tender tree-branches for damming the hill streams. Then they carefully throw out the water and catch the fish. By this method only small fish are secured.

The Savaras use fishing basket (Gudu) to catch fish in the small hill-streams and irrigation channels. The open mouth of the 'gudu' is kept against the water current and a bund with mud on either side is constructed so that water may not leak out except through the basket. The fish carried by the water are trapped inside the 'Gudu' and collected. For catching little fish they may have to keep the 'gudu' for long hours. That is why they usually keep the 'gudus' in position in the evenings and take out the trapped fish next-day. They collect the fish in self woven bamboo baskets known as 'Tiri'. Fish are also caught by means of a 'Galam' - angling rod (Karukuryo). It is a pains taking job and returns are also not encouraging. That is why only a few of them resort to this method of fishing. Sometimes intoxicants are added to the standing waters of the small rivers and ponds. They use 'Renkadana-Kurrang', 'Thirana-Kurrang' (Barks) and 'Chillanginjalu' seeds (Kadia) for stupifying the fish. The barks and seed are powdered and added to the standing waters. After waiting for two or three hours, the stupified fish will float on the water and are collected.

The Savaras undertake fishing either individually or collectively depending upon the nature of the source of fishing. If they are to fish in small ponds and streams, by using anglers, it is always resorted to by individuals. In case of damming the hill-streams, 4 or 5 persons are always necessary for fishing. More number of people are required for fishing in rivers and ponds by the use of intoxicants and is mostly undertaken by groups of 10 to 15 people.

Honey Collection (Tabdangam):

Honey collection plays an insignificant role in Savara Economy. Honey is not usually collected for marketing purpose. It is not available in plenty in their habitat. Whenever a Savara chanced to get hold of a honey comb, he collects the honey (Adhang) and consumes it on the spot itself. However, they know different kinds of bees (Ayangdan) and different varieties of honey. A few of the varieties, are big honey (boar) (2) Small honey (Asannada) and (3) Putta Kondini-honey collected from ant hills (Thinkis).

Thus the various economic activities of Savaras consist of Agriculture, Agricultural labour, collection of Minor Forest Produce, Hunting, Fishing etc. The Savaras economy is purely of subsistence type. They do not have either surplus agricultural or forest produce. From August to November, they face food crisis as they exhaust all their food grains by that time. Their economy receives a set back during the rainy season as they have to incur the cultivation expenses besides their household expenditure. The following statement gives an idea of the economic activities of a Savara household throughout the year.

Name of the Savara Month	English equivalent	Nature of the Economic Activity
Vaisakha	May - June	Weeding operation in 'Podu' fields-sowing of Ginger-Collection of Minor Forest Produce.
Aviti	June - July	Weeding of 'Podu' fields-Tilling the dry lands for sowing 'chodi'.
Endva	July-August	Broadcasting and transplanting 'Sama' and 'Chodi' respectively. Broadcasting 'Gante' and planting of vegetables like Brinjal-preparation of seed bed.
Bodua	August - September	Weeding red-gram fields - harvesting 'Korra' and 'Voda' - Tilling wet lands and transplantation of Paddy seedlings.
Dasara	September - October.	Harvesting 'Chodi' - Tilling 'Chodi' fields to broadcast horse-gram (Vodai) Weeding redgram fields - harvesting 'Sama' of the dry lands - Plucking brinjals, banana, gourd etc.
/* Palakana	/* Hove Nov-December	/* Harvesting 'Gante' in the 'Podu' fields and harvesting wet paddy.
Sankranti	December - January	Harvesting Paddy - cutting of 'alang' thatch grass and digging of turmeric and ginger.
Sivaratri	January - February	Harvesting red-gram - felling trees in the Podu fields and collection of Minor Forest Produce like tamarind, Hill brooms etc.
Doli	February - March.	Clearing forest for 'Podu' - Burning 'Podu' fields and preparing 'Podu' fields for sowing.
Kothamasa	March - April.	a) Performing marriages and celebration of festivals. Re-thatching the roofs of the huts. b) Sowing Jowar, Redgram, 'Janama', 'Gantelu', and 'Sama'; planting turmeric, Ginger, 'Chama' (Tuber), 'Dool Kanda' (tuber) in the Podu fields.
Itima	April - May	Weeding (Podu) fields.
/* Kartikana	October - November	Harvesting 'Sama' and plucking brinjals.

The Savaras are engaged in either economic or social activities throughout the year. They may find leisure days especially in the months of March and April every year during which they are mostly engaged in performing marriages and celebrating festivals.

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN OF SAVARAS:

A survey was conducted during 1963-64 covering 116 sample households of Savaras in Bhadravari Tribal Development Block of Parvathipuram Taluk in Srikakulam district, to find out the economic condition of the Savaras. Out of the 116 Sample households, 94 (81.04%) households are depending upon agriculture while the remaining 22 (18.96%) households are landless. This reveals that a majority of the Savara family thrive on agriculture. Table I of Appendix 5 shows the occupational distribution of the members of the sample households. 369 Savaras of the sample households are having agriculture and agricultural labour as their main occupations. Agricultural labour and collection of minor forest produce constitute important subsidiary occupations. Even though many of the Savaras live in forest areas, none of them are having either collection of minor forest produce or forest labour as their main occupation. Collection of minor forest produce seems to have been regulated to a secondary position as they have become shifting and settled cultivators in course of time. Even in their subsidiary occupations agricultural labour is second in importance to collection of minor forest produce, which occupies the pride of place. Out of 281 people having

subsidiary occupations 39.86% are engaged in the collection of minor forest produce and 34.16%, 4.98%, 3.56% and 17.44% are having agricultural labour, forest-labour, hunting and others respectively as subsidiary occupations. Thus all the main occupations are completely agriculture oriented. Their subsidiary occupations are predominantly of collection and food gathering type. But in general it can be safely concluded that agriculture sector is sustaining the largest number of Savaras.

Both men and women are having agriculture and agricultural labour as main occupations. Out of the 307 people whose main occupation is agriculture 53.09% are males and 46.91% females. Among the 62 people having agricultural labour as their main occupation, 51.77% are males and 48.23% are females. Again out of 96 people having agricultural labour as their subsidiary occupation, 57 (59.37%) are males and the remaining 39 (40.63%) are females. The number of males and females engaged in the subsidiary occupations of collection of minor forest produce, forest labour and others is 64 and 48, 8 and 6, and 29 and 20 respectively. Hunting is the least important subsidiary occupation exclusively undertaken by males (10). Except hunting, both males and females are thus practising main and subsidiary occupations almost in the same proportion.

ECONOMIC STATUS:

Out of the 549 total members of the 116 sample households, 39.72%, 28.41% and 31.87% are earners, earning dependents and non-earners respectively. A majority of the Savaras are earners when compared to the earning and non-earning dependents. There are 140 male earners and 78 female earners, 63 male earning dependents and 93 female earning dependents, revealing the fact that females outnumber males as earning dependents. Among non-earning dependents both males and females are almost balanced, their numbers being 88 and 87 respectively. Table No.II of Appendix No.5 gives the age-groups of males and female earners, earning dependents and non-earners.

From this table it can be inferred that a majority of the Savaras earners (161) are in the age groups of 21-40 while more than half of the earning dependents (79) are in the age-group of 11-20. Almost all the non-earning dependents (172) are in the age group of 1-10. This shows that a Savara child remains an economic liability between 1-10 years, from the 10th year onwards the grown up boy/girl slowly starts contributing his/her might to the household income and continues to be an earning dependent until his/her 20th year round about the 20th year onwards they tend to be economically independent and remain fullfledged earners until their old age which gradually descends upon them from the 55th year onwards. Generally, after the 55th year, they slowly lose their economic independence and become earning dependents

and ultimately non-earning dependents after the 75th year; thus entering the stage of second childhood. But inspite of his old age a Savara continues to contribute, though in a small way, to the income of the family.

SOURCES AND PATTERN OF INCOME:

As most of the Savaras living in Bhadraviri Block are confined to the forest areas and hill slopes; cultivation, agricultural labour and collection of minor forest produce constitute their main sources of income. But both cultivation and minor forest produce are exposed to the vagaries of nature. So the income derived from these sources depends upon seasonal conditions, the nature and scope of Governmental activities in the forest areas and to a limited extent nearness of villages to weekly markets.

Settled, 'Podu' and terrace cultivation constitute the main sources of income under agriculture. As cultivation provides food and work throughout a large part of the year, a Savara considers it more stable and dependable than other occupations like collection of minor forest produce, forest labour, hunting and fishing and miscellaneous occupations like casual labour in development works, carpentry, blacksmithy etc.

The Survey of 146 households revealed certain facts about their income from different sources. Table No.III of appendix No.5 gives the particulars regarding the various sources of income of the sample households and the amount derived from each source. The income from Agricultural

sector constitute 68.50% to the total income while the income derived from collection of minor forest produce, hunting and fishing, and forest labour are 18.68%, 0.67% and 2.78% respectively to the total income. The income derived from miscellaneous sources like casual labour in development works, basketry, carpentry etc. constitute 9.37% to the total income.

The analysis indicates that even though most of the Savaras live in forests and on hill slopes, the income derived from the sale of minor forest produce, hunting and fishing, and forest labour is third in order of importance, the first and second being agriculture and agricultural labour respectively. Hunting and fishing are undertaken mostly for domestic consumption and not for sale. Similarly basket weaving and carpentry are practised to meet their household requirements only. So the income from these sources indicates the imputed cost of the articles. The analysis further reveals that the Savaras have passed the stage of food gathering and become cultivators with the passage of time. Still this traditional source of their livelihood is not completely eschewed as it forms one of the important subsidiary sources of income. They collect minor forest produce like roots, tubers, hill brooms, leaves, seeds, fruits etc. not only for supplementing their predominantly cereal diet but also for substantiating their meagre earnings from the agricultural produce by selling them in the weekly markets and to the corporation as well. Thus even though agriculture and allied labour constitutes

the major source of income, collection and sale of minor forest produce provides the Savaras an important supplementary source of income.

The classification of households into different income groups shows the income distribution pattern among the Savaras households (Table No.IV of Appendix No.5). According to the table, of the 116 households, the earnings of 16.38% households are less than Rs.200/-. If the households in the next income groups, i.e., Rs.201 - 300/- are also added (the average income per household being Rs.375.92~~0~~), 38.79% households are earning less than Rs.300/-. The analysis shows that 38.79% are not even earning an average income and 22.4% of the households of the income group Rs.301 - 400/- are just on the verge of average income. Thus 61.20% households are either below the average income or just on a par with it. The remaining 38.80% households are earning more than average income. The number of households having more than Rs.600/- income is 10.38% to the total households.

The above analysis of the Savara income pattern establishes the fact that the Savara tribe is one of the economically backward communities in the State of Andhra Pradesh. Now an attempt will be made to compare the Savara per capita income with the per capita income of the State. State per capita income Rs.354-31 during the year 1963-64*.

* Hand book of Statistics - A.P. PP.5 1963-64 issued by the Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Andhra Pradesh.

According to the present survey the per capita income of Savaras works out to Rs.80.46 in the year 1963-64. The difference of Rs.263.85 between the per capita income of Savaras and the general population of State reveals that Savaras are practically at the lowest rung of the State income. The disparity of income, between the general population of the State and the Savara needs immediate attention and calls for the necessary measures for raising the income of the Savaras.

EXPENDITURE:

Savaras lead a simple life. They live from hand to mouth on the meagre agricultural produce which is sometimes supplemented with the edible roots, tubers, fruits, flesh of wild animals, fish etc., collected from the surrounding forests. His clothing is very simple and the shelter is constructed with the material available in the surrounding forests. Apart from food, shelter and clothing the other items of expenditure are social and religious ceremonies, agriculture, drinking and smoking, and redemption of debt.

According to the present survey, the total expenditure of the 116 sample households is Rs.46,342/-. This works out to an average expenditure of Rs.378.51 per annum. The most important item of expenditure is food, fuel and light, followed by agriculture, clothing and education, drinking and smoking, social ceremonies, redemption of debt and house repairs. Table No.V of Appendix No.5 shows the relative importance of various items of expenditure in the budget of the sample households. According to the table 57.40% of the expenditure accounts for food, fuel and light. The high

percentage spent on food, fuel and light establishes the fact that the settled life has converted a Savara's diet into a predominantly cereal diet. What the Savaras spend on fuel and light is very low as all of them use the firewood available in the forests and do not burn much oil for lighting purposes since they go to bed very early in the night. The expenditure on farming constitutes 10.50% whereas the respective expenditures on clothing and education, drinking and smoking, social ceremonies, redemption of debt, house repairs are 10.49%, 9.55%, 7.09%, 2.85% and 2.12% to the total expenditure of the sample households. The actual expenditure on education is almost negligible as most of the school going children receive education free of cost. The expenditure on farming is also found to be less as most of the Savaras are not practising the costly improved methods of cultivation like the use of chemical fertilisers, improved seeds, improved agricultural implements etc. The Savara clothing is neither gorgeous nor costly. Most of them use small pieces of cloth just enough to cover their private parts. They drink toddy and Mohua liquor. While toddy is tapped by the Savaras themselves, the distillation of Mohua liquor is prohibited. Now-a-days, they are purchasing Mohua liquor from the non-tribal illicit distiller and it is generally costlier than their indigenously distilled liquor. They generally smoke cheap country tobacco and beedies are purchased in the weekly shandies. The expenditure on social ceremonies is conditioned by the economic position of the family. The poor economic condition of the Savara household does not permit

him to spare any amount for redemption of debt. Perhaps this is the main reason for the low percentage of expenditure on debt redemption. Their linear community huts do not generally require repairs every year. Moreover, if necessity arises they repair the houses with the material available in the nearby forests on a cooperative basis. So the expenditure incurred on household repairs is least when compared to the other items of expenditure. Thus the analysis of the Savara expenditure pattern does not give a bright picture of their level of living. Most of the Savara live on or below poverty line. A Savara is forced to live a life of austerity, confining his expenditure to the bare necessities of life.

PATTERN OF EXPENDITURE:

The distribution of sample households as per the expenditure groups is given in the table No.VI of Appendix No.5. According to the table, 61.22% household spend below Rs.400/- while 33.62% households spend between Rs.401-700/-. Only 5.16% of the sample households are found in the expenditure ranges from Rs.701 to 1100/-. The Average expenditure for a Savara sample household is Rs.378-51 per annum. The per capita expenditure works out to Rs.84.41. This shows the poor standard of living of an average Savara household. It is far below the minimum standard of living expected to maintain in rural areas. According to the calculation of Dr.Aykroyd, the expenditure per consumption unit necessary to maintain the minimum desirable standard of living in rural areas is Rs.450/- 475/- per annum at the prices prevailing in 1954-55*

*The Nutritive value of Indian foods and the planning of satisfactory diets Dr.Aykroyd.

ASSETS:

Both movable and immovable assets possessed by a household reflect its economic prosperity. The Savara household assets generally comprise of a small piece of dry, wet or podu land, a compartment in a community linear thatched house, very rarely silver and gold ornaments, 3 or 4 cattle and the primitive agricultural implements like 'Konkeboregi' (Hoe-cum-digging stick), an axe, self-made plough etc.

Table No.VII of Appendix No.5 gives an idea of the distribution of the number of Savara households with reference to the value of their assets. Among the 116 sample households the value of the assets of 75.86% households is less than Rs.200/- while 13.79%, 3.45% and 3.45% of the households are possessing assets in the value groups Rs.201-400, 401-600, 601-800 respectively. Only 2.45% of the households are having assets worth more than Rs.1201/-. The average value of the assets of a Savara household works out to Rs.69.87 showing its poor economic status. As most of the Savaras lead a hand to mouth life, the scope for acquiring valuable assets is very limited. The meagre income derived from the limited sources is not conducive for capital accumulation. Their expenditure pattern also shows that there is no investment on capital assets such as purchase of land, livestock, farm equipment etc. which provide the basis for capital formation.

LIABILITIES:

As many as 48 sample households are indebted constituting 41.31% to the total sample households. Generally a

Savara borrows money to meet his household expenditure and cultivation expenses. Out of the 48 indebted households 52.08% incurred debt towards agricultural work and 47.92% contracted debt due heavy household expenditure.

It is observed that 91.67% of the indebted households have borrowed a total sum of Rs.2,271/- from Non-Tribal Private Money lenders. Only 8.33% have borrowed a meagre amount of Rs.290-00 from tribal money lenders. On an average each indebted household borrowed Rs.62.27. The rate of interest varies from 25% to 100%. This reflects the persistent parasitic hold of the private non-tribal money lender.

SURPLUS AND DEFICIT HOUSEHOLD BUDGETS:

While the analysis of sources of income and items of expenditure revealed the standard of living of the Savaras, the analysis of the surplus and deficit household budget helps us to gauge the net economic position of the tribes. The survey showed that out of 116 households 97 households are having an excess of expenditure over income i.e., 83.62% of the total number of households are having deficit budgets. In other words only 16.38% households could either balance their expenditure with income or earn some surplus. The following table reflects the economic condition of the Savara households.

SURPLUS AND DEFICIT HOUSEHOLD BUDGETS:

Total No. of Households surveyed	116
Number of Households having surplus budget	19
Percentage of households having surplus budgets	16.38
Number of the households having deficit budgets	97
Percentage of deficit budget households	83.62

The high percentage of deficit households clearly that the Savaras are steeped in utter poverty. This is really a disturbing situation. The main reason for their poverty is that their main sources of income viz., Agriculture, and minor forest produce are subject to the vagaries of nature. Moreover, even when nature is favourable, their primitive agricultural practices, coupled with the 'Podu' cultivation are not conducive for high agricultural yields. The operations of money lenders and showkars, the expenditure on drink and the precarious nature of both agriculture and collection of minor forest produce resulting in low per capita income explain the high percentage of deficit households.

However, the overall picture of the Savara economy gives rise to certain doubts regarding the accuracy of the findings. Out of 116 households surveyed 83.62% of the total number of households are having deficit budgets. This gives rise to the question how the deficit households are managing to meet their expenditure. Here it may be admitted that the Survey has certain limitations because of certain factors which might have vitiated the data regarding both income and expenditure of the households. During the year under review the yield from various crops was below normal due to untimely rains resulting in reduced income. Apart from this, the Savara might have given an under estimate of their agricultural produce. Moreover, there is a general tendency among the tribals to give an under estimate of the crops with a view to demand concessions regarding land revenue from the government. Last but not the least ignorance, illiteracy,

and poor memory of the tribal might have resulted in the inaccurate statements.

Regarding expenditure also some factors might have inflated the figures of expenditure. It is very difficult to get the accurate figures of expenditure for the whole year from these ignorant people. Besides, the general fluctuations in the prices of the cloth, oil, and other daily requirements might have resulted in some miscalculation regarding the expenditure on these items.

In spite of the above mentioned limitations, the basic fact that the Savaras are submerged in steep poverty remains the same. The truth in the figures of deficit households is proved by the following reasons. The enquiry into the indebtedness of the sample households revealed that 41.31% are in debt. Thus nearly half of the deficit households tried to meet their expenditure through borrowing. The remaining deficit households, it is observed live on edible roots, tubers, leaves and flesh of wild animals whenever they fall short of food grains. Moreover, the conditions prevailing in other tribal areas also substantiate the truth of the findings. According to a survey conducted by Sri D.S.Nag among the Baiga revealed that 17.6% of deficit families managed without resorting to borrowing(*).

* TRIBAL ECONOMY BY D.S.NAG, Bharatiya Adimajati Sevak Sangh, 1958, PP.251.

Table-I

APPENDIX NO.5

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN OF SAVARAS

<u>MAIN OCCUPATION:</u>	<u>No. of Persons</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	
Agriculture	163	144	307
Agricultural Labour	32	30	62
<u>SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATION:</u>			
Agricultural Labour	57	39	96
Collection of M.F.P.	64	48	112
Forest Labour	8	6	14
Hunting	10	..	10
Others(*)	29	20	49

(* Others includes basket weaving, carpentry, casual labour in development works etc.)

Table No. II

ECONOMIC STATUS

<u>Age Groups</u>	<u>Earners</u>		<u>Earning Dependents</u>		<u>Non-earners</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
-- - 10	--	--	--	--	83	83
11-20	3	4	43	33	1	--
21-30	36	30	14	22	--	--
31-40	61	36	3	16	--	--
41-50	23	7	1	13	--	--
51-60	17	3	--	3	--	--
61-70	1	--	1	--	--	1
71-and above	--	--	1	--	1	--
Total:	140	78	63	93	83	87

TABLE III

INCOME OF SAVARAS

Source-wise:

Source	Amount	Percentage to the total.
1. Agriculture	18,171	41.13
2. Agricultural labour	12,090	27.37
3. Minor Forest Produce	8,251	18.68
4. Forest Labour	1,230	2.78
5. Hunting & Fishing	295	0.67
6. Others*	4,135	9.37
Total:	44,175	100.00

* Others include casual labour in development works, basketry Carpentry etc.

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS AS PER INCOME GROUPS

Income Groups	No. of Households	Percentage to the Total No. of households.
-200	19	16.38
201 -300	26	22.41
301 -400	26	22.41
401 -500	18	15.54
501 -600	15	12.93
601 -700	7	6.03
701 -800	2	1.72
801 -900	1	0.86
901 -1000	1	0.86
1001-1100	1	0.86
Total:	116	100.00

TABLE V: EXPENDITURE OF SAVARAS - ITEM-WISE

Item of Expenditure	Amount spent on each item:Rs.	Percentage to the total expenditure
1. Food, Fuel and Light	26,600	57.40
2. Farming	4,865	10.50
3. Clothing and Education	4,862	10.49
4. Drinking and smoking	4,425	9.55
5. Social Ceremonies	3,285	7.09
6. Redumption of debt	1,320	2.85
7. House repairs	985	2.12
Total:	46,342	100.00

TABLE VI: DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS AS PER EXPENDITURE GROUPS

Expenditure Groups:Rs.	No. of households	Percentage
-200	20	17.24
201 -300	27	23.29
301 -400	24	20.69
401 -500	16	13.79
501 -600	14	12.07
601 -700	9	7.76
701 -800	2	1.72
801 -900	1	0.86
901 -1000	2	1.72
1001 -1100	1	0.86
Total:	116	100.00

TABLE VII. DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS
 VALUE FOR ASSETS

<u>Value groups of</u> <u>assets</u>	<u>No. of house-</u> <u>holds</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
- 200	88	75.86
201 - 400	16	13.79
401. - 600	4	3.45
601, - 800	4	3.45
801 - 1000	--	--
1001- 1200	--	--
1201- 1400	2	1.73
1401- 1600	1	0.86
1601 +	1	0.86
<u>Total:</u>	<u>116</u>	<u>100.00</u>

COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL CONTROL

As in most of the primitive societies, among the Savaras also, the local group is a cluster of consanguineous and affinal relatives. In almost all the Savara settlements, both brothers and brothers-in-law, own and classificatory, live together. Small Savara settlements like Lakkayaguda and Thobabanayada, hamlets of Irudi in Parvathipur agency, are inhabited by brothers and their brothers-in-law. There are 5 and 6 families, in the two villages respectively. Big Savara settlements like Kalliti, Kannayaguda, Malluguda and Savarakotapadu consist of 30 - 50 families each and all of them are related to each other through blood and marriage. Similar is the case with Jodaga and Narayuduguda villages in Sitampeta agency, Yeerapaduguda in the plains of Pathapatnam taluk and Bongagam in Compet Taluk. Since the Savaras of Parvathipur agency have adopted the family names of their neighbours, grouping of the families in each village according to the number of families having the same family name will be useful in this regard. There are 16 Cheemala, 9 Areka, 2 Biddiki, One Voikka and one Mutika families in Kalliti; 8 Biddiki, 5 Voika, 2 Areka and 4 Cheemala families in Kumboiguda; 6 Puvvala, 6 Mandinaga, 1 Areka and 1 Kondagorre families in Savaraguda of Ealesu, 14 Kadnaka, 8 Biddiki, 1 Kumburki and 3 Pathika families in Malluguda; and 5 Kondagorre, 2 Biddiki, 8 Areka, One Emerka and one Nimmala families in Benanguda settlements. This clearly indicates that a Savara settlement is not inhabited exclusively by the members bearing

the same family name. Actually these families are related to each other through a web of consanguineous and affinal relationships. Similar is the case with the Savara settlements in Pathapatnam, Sompet taluks and Parvathipur agency of Srikakulam district. Even in other parts of Savara country, the settlements are always inhabited by families which stand not only in brother-brother relationship but also in the relationship of brother-brothers-in-law.

Dr.G.V.Sitapathi and Miss.Munro (District Gazetter, Vizagapatnam) wrote that there were 3 grades among the Savaras in Social precedence - the 'Gamangs', the 'Buyyas' and the 'Parjas'. The 'Gamangs' are the civil heads of the village. During the pre-British days, they were the chiefs of the villages. Dr.Sithapati and Miss.Munro have written 3 or 4 decades ago about the Savaras of Ganjam district. In the meanwhile definite changes have taken place in the Social structure of the Savara settlements. At present there is no such social stratification in the Savara villages. All are considered equal. According to Dr.Sitapati "Each of the first two "Gamangs and Buyyas" is no doubt, an endogamous group - but only for the village. A 'Gamang' of one village may marry the daughter of a 'Gamang' of another village. Similarly a 'Buyya' of one village may marry the daughter of a 'Buyya' of another village.

The 'Gamangs' of one and the same village are considered to be the descendants of the same ancestor of the official 'Gamang' of the village. The 'Buyyas' also maintain a similar claim. The 'Parjas' are treated as quite

distinct from either the 'Gamangs', or the 'Buyyas'. One is tempted to infer from this that a member of any of these three groups may marry a girl of any of the remaining two groups; and that there can be no justification for the rule of prohibition of marriage between two persons of one and the same village. But there has been this rule of prohibition from time immemorial and through it gained laxity now, it was strictly observed in the past.

But they blink when their attention is drawn to the significance of the classification under 'Gamangs', the 'Buyyas' and 'Parjas'. The 'Gamangs' and 'Buyyas' look upon each other as equals and both look down upon the 'Parjas' as inferior in social status. Either the 'Gamangs' or 'Buyyas' may think of marrying the girls of the 'Parjas' but do not generally consent to give their daughters in marriage to the Parjas. But I have noted a few instances of a young 'Gamang' girl or a 'Buyya' girl marrying a 'Parja' youth. When questioned about such instances, the Savaras told me that they are very rare and are generally cases of elopement. And the same 'Gamang' says that this restriction is disappearing*. That is actually what had happened. Now-a-days there are no such clearcut endogamous status groups practicing local exogamy. The Savara conception of 'Gamangs' is different now. A 'Gamang' is considered to be a rich Savara with lands and other property. They all say "All of us depend upon 'Podu' only. We do not have any lands and bullocks carts.

* The Soras and their Country: By G.V.Sitapati, J.A.H.R.S.
Vol.XII Part - IV.

We are not 'Gamangs' (rich people) We are 'Pulaimar' (Poor people)". Only the headman of the village is known as 'Gamang' now-a-days and plays a prominent role in various facets of Savara life.

The 'Gamang' leads and assists the parents of the girls and boys in settling their marriages. He settles the amount of money to be paid as bride-price (Voli) and the quantity of liquor that has to be given. He also supervises the celebration of the religious festivals and settles the inter-village and intra-village disputes, in collaboration with the headman of other villages. He is one man court of justice to the Savaras. The constitution of the tribal council is not constant and uniform. The bigger Savara settlements only have a 'Gamang' as headman of the village and the tribal council. The smaller settlements do not have a 'Gamang'. The 'Buyya' or the 'Desari' functions as headman of the council. However their tribal council does not consist of any member. It is always a one man council. All the elderly people are invited to attend the deliberations of the council.

The Bhima Savaras call their headman 'Buyya' and he is assisted by 'Podal' in the administration of tribal law.

The 'Buyyas' are the religious chiefs of the Savara villages. A 'Buyya's main duty is to recite hymns and cook 'bonam' during the various religious and social ceremonies along with the 'Kudan'. He offers sacrifices to the deities and the ancestral spirits on behalf of the community. He assists and participates in arranging and celebrating the

marriages of the boys and girls of his village. In the village where there is no 'Gamang', the 'Buyya' himself acts as the headman of the village. The office of the 'Buyya' is hereditary and so also that of the 'Gamang'. Certain villages like Malluguda and Berianguda in Parvathipur agency do not have a 'Buyya'. So whenever a ritual is to be performed in their village they requisition the services of a 'Buyya' of the neighbouring village. The people of the village give a little quantity of the agricultural produce to the 'Buyya' in return for his services.

The 'Desari' fixes the auspicious days for the performance of both social and religious ceremonies. Name giving, almost all the stages of settling and celebration of a marriage and starting of the various agricultural operations are some of the occasions when a 'Desari' is consulted. A person seeking his assistance should always take with him a 'Solla' of rice and a pot of liquor. Without these two he will refuse to fix the auspicious day and the time. Some of the Savara villages do not have a 'Desari'. So they seek services of the 'Desari' of the neighbouring villages.

The 'Kudan' is another religious functionary of the Savaras. He recites hymns and conducts the social and religious ceremonies. The festivals of first eating of the crops, propitiation of the deities and the ancestral spirits, name giving ceremony and the changing of the 'Kuddalabor' of the 'Konkiborigi' (hoe-cum-digging stick) are some of the ceremonies at which he recites hymns, conducts the rituals and offers sacrifices. He chants the hymns while playing on a

musical instrument called 'Kundansingrai'. Whenever he officiates a ceremony, he gets liquor and food in return. He also diagnoses and cures the ailments with the help of magico-religious charms and native medicines. This office is also hereditary. That is why, the 'Kudan' as he grows old trains one of his sons in this profession.

The 'Kudan boi' is the female counterpart of the 'Kudan'. She conducts the deliveries and diagnoses and cures diseases. She is also trained in sooth saying. She employs magical charms also.

The 'Gamang', the 'Buyya', the 'Desari', the 'Kudan' and the 'Kudanboi' are the five socially and religiously important functionaries in the village. The Savaras give much respect to these people. On almost every occasion of feasting, they are generally served first.

The compactness of the local group gives much scope for reciprocal and voluntary cooperation among its inhabitants. The very construction pattern of the Savara settlements indicates the unity and the feeling of oneness of the Savara villagers. Most of the Socio-economic and religious activities are undertaken on a reciprocal basis. The construction of a new house or repairing of an old one by a family requires out-side help which will be readily forthcoming from their neighbours in the village. Terracing of the hill slopes and wet lands require outside manual labour. Most of the agricultural operations like broadcasting and harvesting also need extra manual labour. Since most of the Savara families

are nuclear in nature, they cannot take up such activities individually. The Savara villages are kingroups as shown by Savaraguda of Balesu where all the 14 families inhabiting the settlement are related through blood and marriage. Consequently, a family in need of help secures it readily from kin families which is reciprocated when other families require their assistance. The celebration of the 'Guar' is another occasion when the cooperative effort of the community, is displayed. They wait till all the families intending to celebrate the ceremony, secure enough resources and then only perform jointly. This joint celebration helps in reducing the financial burden of the individual families. The ceremonial hunting expedition is yet another occasion when the 'we' feeling of the villagers is manifest. The celebrations of certain religious festivals for the common good of the village are also communally undertaken. The local group itself is the basic unit of tribal administration. The composition of the kin group ensures the smooth working of the organisation. Thus a Savara village represents a corporate body and may, as a unit, be used for extension work.

Corporate living always necessitates mechanisms of social control to maintain smooth inter-family and inter-personal relations and harmonious group life. The regulatory principles operating in a society are the norms of standards of behaviour which are set for the control of the conduct of its members, in relation to one another and to the group as a whole. "These standards are for the most part, the ways in which the group as a whole has become

accommodated in the necessities and to the amenities of social life, as recognised at its own level of intelligence, education opportunity**.

The tribal institution for the enforcement of law and order is very simple in its composition. The singleman tribal council is the sole dispenser of justice to the Savaras. Introduction of Panchayat Raj seems to have weakened its working. One has to wait for some more time to evaluate the impact of Panchayat Raj on the village political organisation.

The Savaras recognise two types of punishments. In the first place there are certain offences for which the penalties are imposed by the supernatural powers automatically. For example; an individual may or may not be punished during his life time, but he is sure to be punished by the supernatural forces in his next life. The second type of offences are those for which punishments are imposed by the tribal council. A man's neglect of his duties towards his ancestors and deities, breach of taboo by a menstruating woman and undetected incestuous sexual relations are included in the former category of offences. Generally when an individual acts contrary to the norms of society but his acts did not involve any one in the community, the tribal council does not take cognisance of the situation. As in the most primitive societies the social disapproval of one's acts serves as a regulatory force in shaping the individual's behaviour. When a person is found neglecting his duties or looking after his old parents, the elders of the village express their dissatisfaction of his

* Society, Maciver and page PP.138.

of his behaviour. That itself sets him right. The village headman need not assemble the elders of the village for hearing the case. Usually such situations do not arise among the Savaras. The father-son relations are very smooth and affectionate. Not even a single case of son neglecting his parents has been reported from among these people. The old parents are free to stay with one of their sons and the sons do not mind it. One Savara remarked "My father takes his food in my house or in any of my brother's house as he wishes, which is sometimes determined by the dishes prepared in the houses". The quarrels between wife and husband, father and son and such other domestic quarrels are not, generally, brought to the notice of one and all by holding a public meeting for their hearing and disposal. The headman and the elders of the village sit in judgement of the more serious breaches of tribal law and ethics. For example, premarital relations resulting in pregnancy and not culminating in marriage, marriages outside the tribal group, non-compliance of the marriage proposal, adultery within the community, action of the person who caused suffering by his black magic etc., are the offences discussed by the head-man in consultation with the elderly people. The fines are imposed and communal feasts are demanded, failing which the defaulters are excommunicated depending upon the seriousness of the offence. Here also, when Savaras alone are involved in the offence it is considered less serious. When another tribal or non-tribal is involved it becomes more serious, specially in cases of sexual liberties and marriages outside the accepted group.

The Savara custom prescribes certain rules and regulations regarding the social behaviour of the Savara with other tribal and caste groups. They are prohibited from eating any cooked food from the hands of a person belonging to Paidi or Domb; Relli, Jeggalolu, Mala, Muli (Black-smiths) and the Chakali (Washerman) communities. When cooked food has been accepted by a Savara from the hands of persons of the above communities, the matter will be reported to the headman of the village. He assembles the elderly people of village and discusses the case and imposes a punishment by excommunicating the offending family. Even their close relatives should completely sever their contact with that family. No body should eat or accept cooked food from them, but the excommunicated family may eat the cooked food from the hands of the villagers. They will not be allowed to enter other Savara houses. Food will not be served in their plates except in leafplates. Though they are permitted to attend social functions they should not mix freely with the community people. However, they are permitted to stay in the village. No communal feast can expiate this offence. This offence becomes more serious if the offenders are women. Children are not included in the purview of these offences. But in actual practice, it presents a different picture. They say "who sees all this particularly. But we do not indulge in such activities. We are always in the habit of not accepting anything from these people. Our conscience always prohibits us from accepting food from those people". Any how, the days have changed. Cases of excommunication for having accepted cooked food

from such communities are not forthcoming. They accept cooked food from the hands of the Kapus, Sisti Karanams, Thelagas and Koppolollu.

If a Savara woman is found having extra-marital relations with a man of different caste or tribe, she is permanently excommunicated from the community. There is no question of her re-admission into the tribe under any circumstances. A Savara man may bring a woman of the caste from whose hands they accept cooked food. The payment of fine of Rs.40-50 and a feast to the community can expiate his offence. In the case of a Savara bringing a woman from the caste or tribe from whose hands they do not accept cooked food, he is excommunicated.

If an unmarried woman becomes pregnant due to her intercourse with a Savara, she is asked to name the person responsible for the act and he is forced to marry the girl.

When a married woman is involved in extra marital relations, the husband of the woman, with a party of his friends, brings a goat or pig by force from that man's house, then the matter is brought to the notice of the village head-man. He imposes a fine of Rs.20/-. They purchase mohua liquor with this money. The goat or pig's meat and liquor are distributed among the members of the community. When the husband of the woman does not like to accept her as his wife, the man who had extra-marital relations has to marry her. If he also refuses to accept her, she is left to choose the way by herself. When a man or woman is found having extra-marital

liberties inspite of the fines imposed, they may be asked to leave the village and if they refuse to comply they may be excommunicated. Cases of elopement and divorce are also brought to the notice of the headman for settlement. When a Savara brought a high caste woman, he is admitted into the tribe after the payment of 'Kulatappu' (fine) in the shape of liquor and a community feast. In case of marrying a low caste woman, a feast can not expiate the offence. He will be excommunicated from the tribe. He has to either live outside or join her caste. When a Savara man elopes with a woman of his community, the parents of the woman claim 'Alitappu' (wife fine) from that man with the help of the headman of the two villages. Koyyar eloped with Buddi and he paid Rs.40/- as Alithappu to Buddi's parents.

Either the wife or the husband can seek divorce with sufficient reason. Generally harsh treatment of the wife and neglect of the usual duties of the husband, force a woman to ask for divorce. Lack of interest in the household and agricultural activities and marital infidelity of wife may force a man to seek separation from wife. After hearing both the sides, the judgement is given. Sometimes the dissatisfied woman simply elopes with a man of her liking. In such a case, the latter husband has to pay a fine called 'maganalithappu' to her former husband.

Among the Savaras it is customary to fix marriage alliances long before the girl had attained puberty which naturally does not involve the consent of the boy and girl as they are too young to express any opinion. Generally no

breach of marriage alliance occurs. However, for some reason or other if the proposed alliance does not materialise, the offender has to pay a fine to the community.

A Savara is deemed to have been excommunicated, if he is imprisoned for committing some offence. He will not be readmitted into the tribe after his return from Jail until his tongue is burnt with a 'Paggoda' to expiate him of his sin. For the performance of this purificatory ceremony, a small chick and a 'solla' of rice are taken to the outskirts of the village, the chicken is sacrificed and the persons tongue is burnt with the 'Paggoda'. The chicken is thrown away. Sipoy was arrested and jailed for having participated in illicit distillation. He was kept in Rajahmundry Central Jail for about 6 months and was freed later. When he returned to his village, his tongue was burnt with a 'Paggoda' and a chicken was also sacrificed.

Punishments are also meted out to persons indulging in minor duels and fights. When two people beat each other, the one who beat first is fined with Rs.3/- and the other one with Rs.2/- by the village head-man.

Thus the Savara traditional council of which the head of the village is the sole arbitrator deals with cases ranging from violation of tribe endogamy to duel fights. It also indicates the Monolithic authoritatian leadership pattern inspite of the existence of plurality of traditional functionaries. However, the headman is not despotic as the views of other elders invited to the Council meeting are also given their due in dispensing justice.

LANGUAGE, FOLK LORE AND MUSIC

The Savara Language belongs to the large Austric family of languages spoken over a vast area starting from the east coast of Africa to the Eastern Island in the Pacific Ocean. Besides ethnographic material, there are also a few words still in correct use common to all the languages spoken by the primitive peoples of this language group. The Indian branch of this Austric family includes the primitive languages now known as Savara; the Kharwari group of dialects viz., Santali, Mundari, Birhor, Ho, Korwa Mahle; Kurku, Dharua, Juang, the Southern group of dialects viz., Parang, Remo, Khasi, Palavang and Monkhmer. Rao Saheb Ramamurthy pantulu presented in his Sora-English dictionary, a table showing comparisons between Sora words and words from the language of the primitive Veddas in Ceylon to show the kinship of this language with the Sora language and refers to the existence of Sabaragam in that island to contend that the Veddas must have spoken in the remote past a language akin to Savara. Both Ramamurthy Pantulu and his son Dr.Sitapathi contend that all the primitive people and their present languages or dialects have come from the original Savara (or Sabara) people and their language. Several other Scholars, like B.C.Mazumdar and Rai Bahadur S.R.Ray also had expressed this view. Dr.Sitapathi in his monograph on the interpretation

of cultures suggests that Savara (or Sabara) may be used as the best fitted appellation to denote all the primitive languages mentioned above.

Besides words, the structure of these languages has some common features. It may be said that words might have been borrowed by people of one language from the languages spoken by others. But such a borrowing occurs generally in the latter stages of cultural development but never in the case of basic words fundamentally essential in the early stages such as words relating to the parts of the body, primitive domestic life, daily occupations, pronouns etc. The table presented by Ramamurti Pantulu contains many words of such a nature. Moreover, the primitive tribes of this vast Austric family were isolated by changes in the physical features of this areas. Dr. Sitapati referred not only to certain words like ginger but also to words like 'Fol' meaning bundle (verb and noun) which exist with slight variations in about twenty languages of the vast area.

There are also features in the structure of the languages which establish kinship, features peculiar to the Austric family and rarely noticed in the languages of the Aryan, Semetic and Dravidian families.

The scope of this monograph does not permit a detailed discussion on Savara language. It is limited to just one or two features of outstanding importance. In all these languages there are abridged or short forms of all nouns which contain two or more syllables, and should be used in compounds.

Ex: 'Sangan' is the Savara word for a door. There are several kinds of doors and they are distinguished by the use of compounds as in Suda-Sangan' (Big door), Sanna-Sangan' (small door) 'arbu-sangan' (shuttered door). The last of these compounds is very interesting; it is poetic. The word 'Arbun' means a scaly ant-eater like armadillo. The shutters of the door resemble the scales of the armadillo. Such door does not exist in the Savara villages. This is narrated by Dr.Sitahpati in one of his Seminar papers. The attention of a Savara who came to see him was drawn to a shuttered door in his house and the Savara was asked to distinguish it from an ordinary plain door. In a few seconds the Savara could say 'Arbu-Sangan'. Evidently he coined this word. It was so self-explanatory that on the day another Savara could easily understand the significance of the prefix to 'Sangan' in such compounds. It is the contracted form which should be used in forming compounds but never independently. It is wrong to say either 'arbu sangan' for a shuttered door or 'Sangan' for an ordinary door. Such contraction of words is very rarely found in the languages of other families. There are as Dr.Sitapati says, however, a few stray cases of such contraction in Sanskrit. 'Pada' is the Sanskrit word for 'foot' either of men or of the lower animals and the contracted 'Pad' is used in compounds like 'dvipad', 'tripad' etc. Similarly, 'danta' (tooth) becomes 'dat' as in 'sudat' (adjective) - having good teeth sudatī (feminine) a woman with fine teeth. But the full form is maintained as in 'Su-danta' which means a good tooth. In English we have fewer stray cases of such compounds. The word man is shortened in pronunciation in gentleman (a compound

word) but the ordinary pronunciation is maintained in a 'gentle-man' where it is not a part of a compound. There is also difference in meaning between 'gentleman' and a gentle-man.

Another striking feature of the Savara and other languages of this Austric family is infixing besides prefixing and suffixing. Two important infixes are 'an' and 'ar' in both of which 'a' is feebly pronounced as 'a' in 'addition'. These infixes are frequently used in forming derivatives from other words. In Savaras as in some of the other languages of this family they are inserted between the initial consonant and the vowel after it. If the initial sound of the word is vowel, the infix becomes practically a prefix. These infixes help the words to express several meanings relating to the words into which they occur. The following examples illustrate the point.

'gab', v.t. to bundle, to make a parcel - 'gana ban', n. act of bundling, a bundle, a parcel.

'gadel - v.t., to happen - 'ganadel-an', n., happening, what has happened, an event, an incident.

'gaj', v.t. to dig - 'ganijan', n. act of digging, what is dug, tuber.

'ub', v.t., to touch - 'anudan', n., act of touching, touch (n)

red, v.t. - to tie as a cloth - 'rane dan', n. act of tying (as a cloth).

and with infix - 'ar' - 'rared - Kaban', a cloth used to tie as a turban.

bid, v.t., to beat, to strike, to thrash etc. 'tanid' - an n., act of beating.

and with the infix 'ar'.

'tarid' - dang-an, n., a stick used for beating.

'dangan' is the contracted form of 'dangun' (stick)

'tarid-sal-am', n., a whip made of leather. 'Salan' is the contracted form of 'usalan' leather.

These infixes help the Savaras to coin words to express objects which they notice for the first time. This shows the resourcefulness of the linguistic material in Savara.

The language of the Savaras of the plains, Palkonda, Parvathipur, Tekkali, Patapatnam, Sompeta and Mandasa has been largely vitiated by contact with the Telugus or Oriyas. Hundreds of Telugu words have crept into the dialect of the Savaras in the taluks mentioned above. In Mandasa, Oriya words have been incorporated in the Savara dialect of this region because they are in contact with the Oriyas also. In the languages of the Savaras round about the residence of the Oriya 'Bisoyis' 'Vishayis', the local hereditary officers, this contamination is noticed. But in the interior parts of the Savara country where the Savaras have no other language than their own, we hear the pure and uncontaminated Savara language. Though here also there is to a very little extent infiltration of a few Oriya and Telugu words, particularly those that relate to administration, rules and regulations.

FOLK - LORE:

The Savaras language is the store house of folk-lore. They express nature and its beauty in their folk-songs which they sing on various social occasions. Much of the strain due to over work is being relieved by group singing. Some of their social customs are also expressed in the form of songs. Rao Saheb G.Ramamurthy pantulu published fables narrated by the Savaras and Savara songs 1912-13 and they are in Telugu characters. Dr.G.V.Sitapathi published Savara songs along with their English translation in verse. Both the works are out of print now. In his Sbra Manual and Grammar, Ramamurthy pantulu included some fables of the nature of folk-lore. A few of their songs collected are incorporated here. The Savara males sing the following duet. One man and another man in a woman's dress dance and sing to the music while the community enjoys the fun. Savara Folk song is as follows:-

Sindriman gamblabinde jimbdong jambdong obeye
Thanongbanyan gamtobenden rangandesas evethe
Errirseu gamlobenden thanongbanyen padele
Bodumbidi almgangale onirnotel ethelam
Chandalengan patorteng thanngbanyen tha
Suingye Gamblobunde gungesunge edako
Ganuran gurrendethurthur thurram aleteebeya
Encungen abayarthabel korathen nebaya
Araba appailaben thanongbanyur korrathenibaya
Baddabam bayeenlabinde dingbaba dingbaba errithena ebaya.
Bodumudiabagangale vourban errethen
Vaninle agam lanyene dingbabamille gaminthen

Etheagamlayanen thithingther ebaya
Athiringthe sukoi kudulrulai thanogbauyen ebaya
Kinabeng appailavendeng anyengal soi
eyyobabayulabinde samanyogalami ebaya
Julubanappalaiben dingbaba panyethe
Eyyanelten aboimbojan athanadayen
Agalaulenji thoe thenassar ebaye
Sammungathatharraju eabiya Bakkudi gathatharraju eseya
Bongay banangay adilen garbasigarbayen edelen ebaya
Pasijanguladam egillye ebaya

When translated into English it reads:-

Your clothes are torn, said I.
My husband went away to Assam said I.
So his younger brother became my husband,
He has taken two measures of toddy and fell unconscious
Fell he near the well and I lifted him up
The house is like a cattle-shed the roof is all
gone it leaks when it rains.
Quarrels he when I say that it should be repaired.
When sent to bring rafters, my husband, went to the
toddy shop.
Had a measure of toddy and went away.
Where did you go asked I, to the toddy shop, said he
He then beat me and served me food thereafter
Sent him I for crabs, came he empty handed
Sent him I for fish, don't know he how to fish
Sent him for meat and he went into toddy shop
Came home and fell unconscious
Get up and beat me.
Spent I rupees forty
Two or three months passed since I am pregnant
So we have to look after that child hereafter.

On some festive occasions, the children of Savara settlements come together and spend their time joyfully by playing and singing. One such song is given here:

Bendu Bendu Benduna Janapapu Narayana
Bendu Bendu Benduna Sangasangun arsee
Bendu Bendu Benduna Jadunarsee
Bendu Bendu Benduna diyanfmonkee
Bendu Bendu Benduna alusingarasee
Bendu Bendu Benduna diyongarsee
Bendu Bendu Benduna Kudathutharsee Bendu Bendu Benduna
Bendu Bendu Benduna dhanagmolanarsee-Bendu Bendu Benduna
Kumerojajo Kumerglile therenjoy therngay
Puyopaya pustaringe surupedalachamalule
Adasuthi ruthithe janapapa narayana
Volemana eidthanhang attithaya magirda

When translated into English:

Jump jump jump quick quick , Narayana
Jump jump jump you and we will play together
Jump, jump, jump shall you and we play
Jump, jump, jump how many are we?
Jump, jump, jump how many are we?
Jump, jump, jump we will play in front of the houses,
Jump, jump, jump how many are we?
Jump, jump, jump we are three, jump, jump, jump
Jump, jump, jump, we are five, jump, jump, jump
Males and females quick, quick jump, jump, jump

Oh, you are going behind, hence leave we will then,
Come quick, you sit always, quick, quick, jump, jump, jump
Come quick, come quick we won't let you go now will all
of us go.

The following one is a marriage song sung by men and
women while dancing:

Kamborolon sanithen koime dangidi
Kamborolon sanithen koime dangidi
Sakulen Gijaljaba somengle jiyayaba
Goimi gangidi sandengle Jiyayaba
Atliatli gamphthalapai thinkado jodongilai
Suratimimi surjatimimi karanjara theem attumtn
Parvathethen peesithe
Appalleside andunguleseri Jattere
Thanungbanggandom dokoringam jallire
Arsinarsin thangbojatilokeloku votengen
Karukaru thangbogati lokelcku votengen
Karukaru thangbogati lokeloku volingen
Nanlakku thanglethangle rajamudia tharanye
Kokonjerroe thangleness appannagonder

When translated into English, it runs as follows:-

Into the bajra fields went a beautiful maiden
make way through leaves, cut the plants and see
cut the plants and see the beautiful maiden
None then save a wild bird,
Suckle the children, cook the food, cut the 'Kagu'
tree let it fell.
The partridge has flown away.

O! husband, will go I with another, if not you take
me to other side,

Monkey went up the Hill and tired

Baboon went up the Hill and tired

Take these flowers and decorate your hair knot

Said I as an elderly man-keep the flowers Appanno-gonder.

There are many more songs which depict the beauty of
the forest wealth - indicating the variety of fruits,
leaves and flowers and animals and birds also. The
wealth of Savara folk-lore is immense that it needs a
special study if one desires to reveal all its aspects.

M U S I C:

The Savaras are a peaceful and music loving people.
They spend the leisure hours singing religious and marriage
songs and playing on a variety of musical instruments. The
Savara musical instruments may be classified into 3 types,
viz., 1) Percussion, 2) Stringed and 3) Wind. The various
Savara musical instruments are described in the following
lines:

(i) WIND INSTRUMENTS:

1. Deren-bong-pedam (Thethede):- Thothode Kommu

This musical instrument consists of a buffalo horn of
12" to 16" in length. At the tapering end, a bamboo mouth-
piece of about 6" to 8" is inserted and air is blown with
the mouth-piece tightly held in the mouth. It gives a
bugles call and lot of air has to be taken in to blow this
instrument. It is taboo to sound this before the celebration

of 'Kondem Kotha' festival and after the celebration of 'Tenka Kotha'. It can be sounded on days of 'Ideesung', 'Guar' and Kondem Kotha'. They also play on it while herding cattle and going to another village.

2. Piradurajan (Panir):- or Ondrung Panir Bamboo flute

This instrument consists of a hollow bamboo reed of 12" length and 2" diameter. One of its ends is closed, the other being open. At the closed end, a small rectangular hole is cut and the size of the hole is regulated by a dry palmyrah-leaf fixed there with the help of wax. This instrument is held between the thumb and the fingers of the left hand near the lips. The air is blown and the holes are closed and opened with fingers of both the hands. This instrument is played on marriage occasions. They may also play on it during leisure time.

3. Pane or Tharethe:

Funnel shaped woden instrument resembling maniatore 'Sannai' with palm leaf mouth-piece fixed at the tapering end and holes on the body. Air is blown with mouth and the holes are closed or opened with the fingers of both hands and melodious sound is produced like that of a clarinet. It is used in providing music during their dances and death ceremony.

(ii) Stringed Instruments:

1. Memerajan (Kinneri): Ginneri or Dodengrai

This is a stringed musical instrument which has been provided with frets. This resembles the 'Kinneri' of the

tribal people of Central and Northern India. It also corresponds to the guitar.

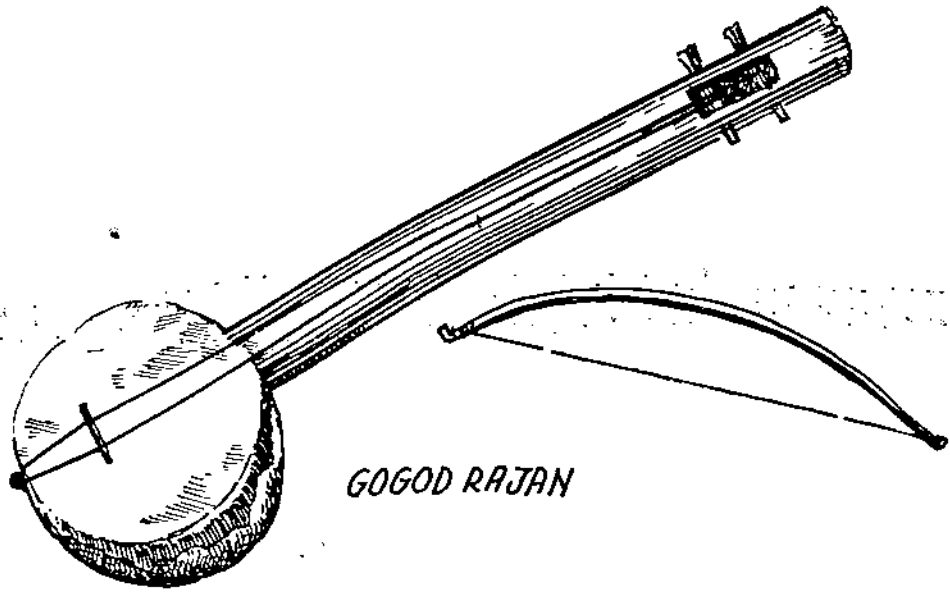
It consists of a bamboo hallow of 16 - 20" in length. Round about the centre, four frets made of wood are fixed with the help of some wax. At one end, about 4" from the end are fixed two gourdshells, one being inserted into the other. Another set of Gourds is also fixed 6" away from the first set. At the same end two screws or keys are fitted. These are made of wood and are inserted through holes at right angles. This instrument has got two strings. One of the strings is secured tightly with the help of the keys. It passes straight to the tail piece over the frets. At the tail piece, it is held with the help of a wooden stopped. This string is used to produce the melody. The other string is passed from the second screw to the tail piece at a lower level and a little way from the first one and it is used as drone.

The instrument is held tight towards the body. The Keys are struck with the index finger of the right hand and the frets are operated by the left hand fingers.

This instrument is usually played on marriage occasions. They may also play this on occasions of merry and joy.

2. Gogod rajan (Gogonjede):-

This instrument consists of a hemispherical coconut sound box. The upper open portion of the coconut shell is covered with lizard skin and secured tightly. The stem consists of a hallow bamboo of 12" to 16" in length and is



GOGOD RAJAN

fixed to the coconut shell with a nail at one end. The other end of the stem has two keys. The two strings of the instrument pass from the back of the coconut shell to the keys over the bridge placed on the skin cover. The strings are held tightly with the help of the keys. The instrument is sounded with a bow consisting of a bamboo strip stave and a sago palm fibre string.

3. I. Kudan Rajan (Kudansingrajan):-

This instrument is exclusively used by the 'Kudan'. The Savara priest while invoking the deities and the ancestral spirits and reciting the hymns. "It is used to give the key and keep the time".

This instrument consists of a woden piece carved like the head of a peacock at one end. Two gourd shells are attached to the bamboo hallow. Two strings spun from the Caryota palm fibre and stretched across the two ends and are held secure. The 'Kudan' sounds it by striking the strings with the index finger of the right hand.

(iii) PERCUSSION INSTRUMENTS:

1. Tarsa Rajan or Gadeisar or Sadeika:

This instrument consists of a bundle of long reeds of Hibiscus tied together at one end. The other end is left free. This bundle is held in the left hand, about 6" from the tied end. Then it is struck with the right hand at the tied end when the loose reeds rattle to make a peculiar sound. This instrument is generally used by the whole group of dancers during their common dancing and singing. When

rattled by a group it produces a good musical sound.

2. Tudumu:

This instrument consist of a earthenware hemisphere covered with goat-skin or cow-skin. The skin is secured with the help of leather strips. For beating this drum, leather strips are used. This is used during death ceremonies.

3. Daggudu:

This is a small hemispherical drum. It is covered with goat skin and beaten with slender sticks. This is smaller than Tudumu. This is used to indicate the death of a person to other villagers.

4. Muringan:

It is a barrel shaped drum and tapers from one to other. The two sides are covered with goat's skin. It is beaten with hands only.

5. Ragobari:

This musical instrument consists of a bamboo hallow of 16 to 20" in length and 2 to 3" in diameter with a longitudinal cut in the middle, about 10" or 12" in length. On either side of this longitudinal cut, a number of small horizontal grooves are made. With the help of a small wooden piece (dangu) they strike against the horizontal grooves to produce the sound. This is used in company of other musical instruments.

6. Kading:

This dapna drum consists of a round wooden frame covered with goat skin on one side and beaten with sticks.

The Savara have thus developed a variety of musical instruments to suit various occasions ranging from happy leisurely life to sorrowing funeral times.

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

In Tribal Andhra Pradesh, Savaras occupy a unique position. Their social organisation mainly characterised by clanless structure with family as the lone unit of the social system distinguishes them not only from plains living Hindu Castes but also from hill dwelling tribal groups. Similarly, the raising of wet crops, preparing of stone revetted terrace fields and growing of hill Banana even on very steep and high slopes sometimes covering the sides of whole hill ranges of the Savara country gives them a unique position distinct from other ethnic groups in whose neighbourhood they live and with whom they have been in contact either through trade or due to the percolation of others into their midst in search of land, business etc. Another distinguishing feature of Savaras is their settlement pattern characterised by li-
near huts. Their functional approach to Gods and Goddesses and other spirit beings with an under lying ritualistic demand for bestowing immediate favours by the supernatural powers in exchange for the various sacrifices offered is another distinguishing trait of Savara Religion. Even the language spoken by the Savaras is distinct from the language spoken by other groups belonging to Dravidian family of languages as the Savara's language belongs to Austric family of languages. These distinctive traits of Savara culture place them in a unique position in the cultural configurations of Andhra Pradesh. However, the long standing

cultural contacts with other ethnic groups which extended even into remote past resulted in some visible changes in the social, material and spiritual life of these Savaras. These changes are more pronounced among the plains living Kapu Savaras especially those of Pathapatnam Taluk than among the hill dwelling Savaras.

The various contact situations that have a profound bearing upon Savara life and culture are to be mainly attributed to the neighbouring tribal and non-tribal groups and the agencies of marketing and development represented by the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Tribes Cooperative Finance and Development Corporation and the Tribal Development Blocks, besides the various institutions of Government Departments opened in the normal process of affording amelioration and advancement to the tribals. Among the Savaras living in the plains the impact of the Great tradition is discernible in the dress pattern, economic life and even in the religious life. For example, the Kapu Savaras of Pathapatnam who live in close proximity of the Caste groups of the Great Tradition have almost eschewed 'Podu' cultivation and became either settled plough cultivators wherever lands are available or manual labourers under the neighbouring advanced sections. Even their dress pattern underwent change with the shifting economic status and both men and women are seen wearing shirts and Dhotis and full Sarees and Blouses respectively in imitation of their respective counterparts of the larger society. Even the previous Savara practice of naming the child after the day on which the child is born has been

replaced by the practice of the plains groups, the traditional names like 'Sukku' and 'Sombra' being replaced by 'Ramablah' and 'Thathiah'. The male hair dressing pattern of growing a 'Rerede' or growing long hair and arranging it in a knot in the neck region has been given up and substituted by the plains fashion of having a crop. Previously those who returned from Jail only had their hair cut, that too by the jail authorities and all the grown up male Savaras used to grow long hair which is kept neatly tied in a knot. The Savara males also have given up the practice of wearing their traditional ornaments as none of the plains people amidst whom they live wear them.

Among these plains living Kapu Savaras the political and religious functionaries have undergone a process of redesignation and sometimes replacement with new offices. Most of the Savara villages do not have all the religious and social functionaries like 'Gamang' 'Buyya' 'Desari', 'Kudan' and 'Kudanboi'. The designation 'Gamang' has almost disappeared and terms like 'Naidu' which is usually the designation of a headman in plains villages have replaced it. In some of the Savara villages especially those of Bhim Savaras, the headman is known as 'Buyya', and has an assistant known as 'Podale'. Sometimes the same functionary may act the roles of two or three other functionaries like 'Buyya', 'Desari' etc.

The introduction of Democratic decentralisation has given a new dimension to the power structure of the area and for the first time election based leadership has been

introduced at the grass root level. However, it is interesting to note that even in villages where Savaras numerically dominate, it is very rarely that a Savara could become the president of the Panchayat. It is usually the Jatapu Dora or Konda Dora or sometimes even non-tribal that secures the Office of the Sarpanch of the Panchayat as these groups are both politically and economically more advanced than the Savaras. But the introduction of Panchayat Raj did not materially alter the village political structure as it is usually the traditional Headman of the village that had become the member or President of the Panchayat. Even in Panchayats where the President and members are different from the traditional leader, no clash of personalities has been noticed as the Savara political structure provides for much flexibility and both traditional head and statutory head are found to supplement each other instead of supplanting. However, it is at the higher levels such as Samithi and Zilla Parishad that the tribal members may fall easy prey to the machinations of advanced sections as these nontraditional leaders are yet to grasp the full implications and rules and regulations of these democratic bodies. It is therefore likely that absentee leadership or leadership behind the curtain may play a notable role which may not always be to the advantage of the tribal. Certain half baked leftist political ideologies may also have a disturbing effect in the region due to the active presence of these elements from outside in the Savara country.

Changes have taken place in the methods of acquiring mates and also in the conduct of the associated rituals. Marriage by capture and elopement are already on the wane as these are not socially approved among the neighbouring plains population. Most of the marriages are therefore arranged through negotiations and mutual agreement. Even the practice of erecting marriage pandals and tying of 'Mangala Sutram' or the Golden symbol of marriage have crept into the plains living Savara marriage practices. However, the chanting of 'Manthra's or Hymns by marriage priest belonging to Non-Tribal groups, especially Brahmins, is not yet adopted. The turmeric bath and exchange of food plates by the bride and bridegroom and washing their hands after food by the 'Desari' are still retained in their marriage ritual. Liquor continues to be an important item of communal feast on all social and religious occasions. Some of them are refraining from acquiring deceased elder brother's wife through levirate marriage and uncle-niece (sister's daughter) marriages are on the increase. Even the place of celebration of marriage has been shifted from bridegroom's residence to bride's residence in contrast to the practice as revealed at the time of Dr.Sithapathi's investigation. Beef, which constituted the choicest dish of both plains living and hill dwelling Savaras, has been given up by the Plains living Savaras with a view to avoid being looked down upon by the advanced caste groups. Even eating of non-poisonous snakes and red-ants which are very much relished by their counterparts in the hills have been given up by Plains Savaras. The non-availability of certain

traditional foods, in the new environment resulted in changing the food habits of the Savaras living in the plains. The flour of the caryota pith which was the main item of the food during lean seasons for the Savaras of Agency is abandoned by some and not available to others living in the plains. Similarly the numerous varieties of edible roots, tubers, leaves and flesh of wild animals with which they used to supplement their diet have been slowly given up due to non-availability on the one hand and restrictions imposed by forest laws on the hunting ground on the other hand.

While the religious life of the hill dwelling Savaras retains most of its practices, the ritual structure of the plains living Savaras underwent notable changes. Their Pantheon now includes many Hindu Gods such as Siva, Rama and Krishna and Simhadri Appanna whose photographs are found in their houses. Some of them even take a vow to visit Lord Venkateswara of Tirumala Tirupati to tide over a difficult situation. With the shift in their agricultural practices from shifting cultivation to settled cultivation some of the Savaras who have abandoned shifting cultivation and adopted settled cultivation stopped the worship of hill deities like Baru-sum as it has no functional significance in the changed modes of living. But those who still practice Podu, worship these deities and do not eat the new grain from Podu fields without first offering to the deities and ancestral spirits. Even the sacrificial animals like buffaloes have been replaced by goats among the plains living

Savaras where as their hill dwelling counterparts still preserve with the traditional ritual animals like buffaloes.

The most important impact of advanced sections is discernible in the economic life of these Savaras living in the plains and it is in this sphere of life that they are worst hit by the long standing contacts with the plains people. A large number of plains people who could not eke out a living in their original society have migrated to these remote areas in search of a living. Those people who migrated to these parts as distillers of illicit liquor, petty traders and moneylenders have been in operation without let or hindrance and through usuary and deceit alienated the most fertile parts of the Savara country and reduced the native Savara to the position of a tenant cultivator or attached labourer on his own fields under these plains people many of whom are absentee land lords because of their preoccupation with the business in other parts of Savara country or adjacent plains areas. The once self sufficient Savara villages have thus become colonies of plains people with the Savaras living as their attached labour at a distance from their main village or migrated to remote forests or isolated hill areas to continue their traditional occupations of shifting cultivation or collection of Minor Forest Produce. The problem of land alienation is most acute in the Parvathipur Agency and it is here that the leftist movement is having its roots. One can visualise the extent of land utilisation from the vast areas of fertile plains under the ownership of the traders

and moneylenders. Further the restrictions imposed on Podu and collection of Minor Forest Produce and hunting prohibitions in reserve forests resulted in further stifling their economic activity. Even in unreserved areas the tribal has to face the harassment of subordinate forest officials who illegally resort to reserve forest laws to harass the innocent tribal for extracting illegal gratifications for allowing them to do 'Podu' cultivation. In spite of the existence of many protective legislations like Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation and Money Lenders Regulation and many other concessions and privileges extended to tribals in forest and land, the activities of these un-scrupulous people are on the increase because neither the Savara is aware of them nor the Government have any machinery for enforcing these protective legislations.

The vitality of the Savara economy is always drained by the moneylenders and sowcars who take recourse to usurious moneylending at a time when the Savara is in urgent need of money and collect his agricultural or forest produce in lieu of the debt after calculating the value at rock bottom prices, and in the process keep sizeable amounts of debts as residue on which compound interest is calculated year after year until the Savara surrenders his land in lieu of his debt usually covering only a part of it and serve as the farm servant of the moneylenders on his own land with the vain hope of not only clearing of the residue of the debt but also regaining the lost land. This mirage of completely repaying debt continues for generations together from father to son and son to grand son and so on.

Contrary to the prevailing stereotype, the Savaras are one of the finest agriculturists in the world as is evident from the number of agricultural implements indigenously manufactured and put to various uses through which they bring every inch of arable land either on a steep slope or on a small platform or in the valley below. Neither height nor depth can materially prevent them from bringing the land under cultivation either under Podu or under terrace or under flat land plough cultivation. Even the variety of crops including commercial crops like Ginger and Turmeric and fruits crops like Hill Banana, typical of Savara horticulture besides traditional Jowar, Dry and Wet Land Paddy and other small millet growing, the Savara exhibits remarkable knowledge of growing a number of crops irrespective of the type of land and the nature of terrain on which he has to eke out the livelihood. But some of the improved practices that have been introduced through tribal development programmes did not seem to have given the expected results as they are not improvements upon the indigenous practices, as the Savaras generally hesitate to take improved variety of seeds as they are not considered disease resistant when compared to the traditional seed varieties. Their difficult soil and climatic conditions also add to their fears. The use of chemical fertilizers has restricted scope as their cost is prohibitive and assured water supply is not available in the Savara country. Further the Savara is accustomed to use green manure and cattle dung which can be profitably utilised in dry land cultivation and even in wet land cultivation in

which rain is the only source of water. Similarly, the use of improved iron ploughs and other sophisticated agricultural implements do not suit the draft cattle and the rocky terrain where their movements are restricted. It is therefore imperative to improve upon the locally available manure, implements and other agricultural practices as they are evolved over a period of time as reflexes to the local conditions. Moreover as has already been said, the Savara is very hard working and good at agriculture. It is in ample testimony of the Savara's capabilities as an agriculturist that the Sowcar even after alienating his land continues to entrust all agricultural operations including spraying, dusting and applying fertilisers or green manure to the Savara and the Savara very intelligently uses the sophisticated equipment like sprayers and dusters without much training. It is therefore the approach of the block staff in handling the Savaras that matters while introducing improved practices rather than the skills, knowledge or sophistication of the Savara. The agro-based economy suffers not much due to the unscientific production activities but it is due to the poor marketing facility. On an average, each Savara family in Seethampet agency annually sells turmeric worth Rs.50 to 60. Similar amounts are realised from the sale of Ginger and Banana. But the strangle hold of merchants and moneylenders and the tribals' poor marketing operations coupled with their perpetual indebtedness and lack of transportation facilities make them sell away their little surplus produce at throw away prices to the merchants camping in their villages or

waiting for them in the shandies. The Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Tribes Cooperative, Finance and Development Corporation has a positive role to play in providing the necessary marketing facilities through its net work of primary societies and purchase centres which have been in operation since its inception in 1956-57 in the Savara country.

As regards the Animal Husbandry Programmes, especially poultry development, many exotic birds are supplied by the Block officials to the Savaras. The Savaras face two difficult situations with them. The improved variety birds are neither disease resistant nor agile enough to protect themselves from predatory wild animals because of their heavy build and slow movements. Further, these improved varieties are meant for laying larger number of eggs than the country ones, so that they can realise money by selling the eggs. But the Savara is accustomed to keeping eggs for hatching purposes as they require a number of chicks and birds for sacrificial purposes. Moreover there is no agency to purchase these eggs even if they offer for sale at reasonable rates. Further in the initial stages debeaked birds were supplied and in the absence of stall feeding, the birds could not survive as the debeaked ones are not capable of picking the food items from the ground. Even for sacrificial purposes some of the improved varieties like the white leg horns are not preferred. However, the Savaras do not hesitate to accept them whenever cross bred coloured birds are given without debeaking.

No industry worth - the name has been established in these parts. The Industries Department imparts training in Carpentry to the Savaras in the Training-cum-Production Centres. Most of the Savaras are good at Carpentry and they could make all they require without any external assistance. They are given a stipend of rupees thirty per month during the period of 11 months training in that centre. They are generally provided with a kit of tools when they leave the centre at the end of the training period. A careful examination of the working of these centres reveals certain drawbacks. The very curriculum of training is defective. No provision has been made for making of agricultural implements, hunting weapons etc., which the tribals use daily. Instead, the programme includes the making of Tea-pots, cots, tables and chairs and such other office and domestic furniture required by the more advanced people. All such furniture prepared in these centres is purchased only by the Government Departments. But once the trainees leave the centre after the completion of training, inspite of possessing a kit of tools, they could not do anything because he has neither the raw-material nor the finances to invest in the purchase of the raw materials nor even the markets and marketing agencies for the sale of the finished goods. So markets are to be found for the sale of such finished goods. Otherwise, the trainee after leaving the centre, goes back to his traditional occupation. The training ends in the training centre itself. That is what is happening now. The training only provides them with temporary employment which they seek readily and nothing more.

The Cooperative movement which should have been the handmaid of tribal amelioration and growth failed to achieve the expected results, not because of its defective structure or unsuitable philosophy but due to functional inefficiency. The credit societies have miserably failed to realise the loan amounts given to the tribals and fresh loans could not be granted as huge amounts stand due to the society. Not that the Savaras are unwilling to repay the amount but the society is not in a position to collect at the appropriate time. A Savara who strives all his life to repay all loans taken by him even at usurious interest from the money lender can not be blamed for non-payment.

The amount of loan given by these societies is so small that he can not but resort to borrowing from moneylenders also. Of the two moneylenders viz., the society and the sowcar, the Sowcar being personally interested in getting back his loan amount, himself visits the tribal home in the harvest season and collects the produce. And the Savara measures out what all he has harvested on the principle 'first' come first served'. It is only after the complete exhaustion of the produce by the Sowcar that the society officials approach the tribals for repayment and draw a blank. It is therefore essential that both advancement and collection of loans should be at convenient times suited to the tribal situation but not that of the official. Another factor that is responsible for the poor performance of the credit societies is that loans are sanctioned months after submission of applications whereas the moneylender gives loans even on oral request

without the need for immediate execution of promisory notes and the production of relevant papers. This makes the tribal more obliging to the moneylender and he repays the loan at his earliest convenience without any hesitation. On the other hand just as his loan is sanctioned after so much of procedural mangling and delay by the Cooperative Society he also feels like repaying it in a leisurely way. Consequently he repays the moneylender as quickly as he gave him and the society as slowly as it issued him the loan. It is neither the low rate of interest nor the easy terms and conditions but it is the timely help that the Savara considers more important.

One of the oldest Primary Societies of Scheduled Tribes Cooperative Finance and Development Corporation has been functioning in Savara country providing the only Cooperative Marketing Agency in the area for the purchase of Minor Forest Produce and agricultural produce and sale of daily requirements like Kerosine, Salt, Cloth, Tobacco, Pulses, Food grains etc., besides giving short term loans and hand loans. The Primary Cooperative Marketing Society established at Gummalakshimpuram extends business activities through out the Parvathipuram agency and between 1957 and 1964 the Society has given Rs.18,820 to 1764 tribals at the rate of Rs.5/- each as emergency or hand loans besides giving Rs.5,520/- to 177 tribals as surity loans at 6½% interest per annum. The emergency loans are collected in lumpsum. The surity loans are repayable in instalments. This Society could recover about Rs.8,303-98 of the total amount of Rs.14,340 given to

tribals. The reasons for the short fall in collection have already been discussed in detail. The society also procured minor forest produce and agricultural produce worth Rs.1,82,872 and 22,771 respectively during 1963-64. The difference in the value of the agricultural produce and minor forest produce collected is due to the non-existence of monopoly right over the collection of Agricultural produce which the society enjoys over the collection of minor forest produce. The tribals are free to sell agricultural produce to any one. Most of the agricultural produce is sold off to Sowcars and moneylenders to clear off old debts or to secure immediate money. This shows the persisting hold of private traders and moneylenders on tribal agricultural marketing inspite of the competitive existence of the Corporation Primary Society. This Society also sold daily requirements worth Rs.95,802 during 1963-64. However, no Cottage Industry or Small Scale Industry worth the name has been established either for processing or for manufacturing finished products by utilising the local forest, mineral and agricultural raw materials available in the area. Further, beedi leaves which are available in abundance in the agency and collected by the tribals for selling them to Sowcars hailing even from Bombay, could not be locally utilised due to lack of a Cooperative Society for the manufacture of beedies which would have not only provided the supplementary income but also met their local demand for beedi which is a favourite with the Savaras. Further, Savaras sacrifice and slaughter a number of black cattle to appease super natural powers and for domestic

consumption. The skins and hides of these animals are sold away to private individuals which could have brought them reasonable price if the Corporation can undertake marketing of these raw skins and hides.

Sometimes civic amenities like drinking water wells provided under Community Development could not be utilised by the Savaras because of the ignoring of the traditional pre-testing of the place where the well is to be sunk, for sanctity. For example, the Savaras of Mandasa settlement of the Seethampet Agency refrained from drinking water from the well dug by the block as the place is not tested for its auspiciousness and they are not sure whether the well is haunted by evil spirits or not. However, good work has been done in the field of malaria eradication. Savaras still depend upon their indigenous medicines for the cure of all diseases and magico-medicinal treatment forms an important part of their diagnostic and curative aspects of treatment as every disease is considered to be the result of evil spirits and angered deities. Pacification of these spirits and deities through the offering of oblation and sacrifices is considered to be the most effective method of curing the ailments. Some of their herbal medicines are worth further scientific investigations and the introduction of modern treatment should combine in itself the indigenous methods, especially in the initial stages and its introduction should be a process of supplementing the good aspects of indigenous medicines and not supplanting it.

Education is another programme about whose utility the Savara is yet to be convinced. The main drawback in the

successful implementation of education programme lies in that it did not yield immediate results and at the same time the tribal has to forego the earnings of the child, however meagre may be the amount, besides incurring expenditure on his feeding, clothing etc. Starting of Ashram Schools with stress on craft based education is of immediate importance. The curriculum in these schools which is same as other urban and rural areas of the State is to be given a tribal bias. The whole programme should be given a functional bias by giving due stress to agriculture and forestry. The history, mythology and other aspects of their life should form part of the syllabus. The school timing and holiday pattern should be in tune with the religious life and economic activities of the tribe. Efforts should be made to appoint teachers with missionary zeal in these areas.

Some of the excise and prohibition* laws also adversely effected the economic and health condition of the tribal families. Previously tribals used to distill liquor from Mohua for themselves. The home distilled liquor did not contain any toxic substances like Ammonium Sulphate. But the prohibition on the distillation of this liquor which provides not only the cup of joy for the Savara but also helps him satisfy the thirst of deities and spirits resulted in throwing him into the hands of illicit distillers who purchase the flowers from the tribals and distil it with the poisonous substances like Ammonium Sulphate and some locally available barks. Even the cost of the liquor is very high. Thus the Savara is not

* Prohibition has since been lifted in the State.

only deprived of a pure drink but also drained of his pocket. Even the few Savaras who attempt to distil the liquor for home consumption as Mohua Liquor has a major role to play in their socio-religious functions, the prohibition staff harass them to extract 'Mamools'. Tobacco is another important item of their daily life which is usually grown in their backyards to meet their daily requirements. But the heavy excise duty levied on it forced him to abandon its cultivation even for home consumption and forced him to spend his hard earned money on purchasing the same from the Sowcars.

Last but not the least, the Savara is still not conscious of not only the development programmes that have been intended for his upliftment but also the protective measures that are expected to shield him from outside exploitation. There is need for fabricating official machinery with judicial powers to detect cases of land alienation and unauthorised moneylending while simultaneously providing easy and quick credit so as to provide alternative sources of credit either through corporation or through the Cooperative Societies after rectifying their defects pointed out earlier. Further, training programmes suited to various types of tribal leaders have to be evolved and intensified so as to provide quality leadership both in their productive and protective activities of life.

G L O S S A R Y

A.

Aban	Mohua flowers
Abasalam	Mohua Liquor
Adang	Kite
Adap	'Pandimoothulu' (A type of tuber)
Adassi	Pot of boiling water
Adhang	Honey
Adub	Milk
Adim ^{gudem}	'Pulleru' fruit
Aganathi	Mensus
Agagai	Tapioka
Alampit	'Gaddi Kukkulu' (one type of mushroom)
Alang	Grass used for thatching
Alang-alam	Paddy straw
Alangbor	Part of 'Kuddara' (Spade)
A lattin-sal-dinna	Importunately preferred liquor day of the marriage celebration.
Ali thappu	Communal fine imposed on the husband, payable in case if her husband elopes with another women.
Alev	Wild goat
Alusung	The cooking corner
(Kotha). Amosa	New Moon day (Telugu New Year day).
Ankulla	Udika fruit
Anudeng	Vuchulu (Snares)
Anudengbentha	Hunting with snares
Anung	A basket hung in a sling with eggs for brooding
Arangda Adimgunda	'Pulleru' leaves
Arubn	Scales of Armadillo
Areka Theega	Wild flowers out of which a garland is prepared on the occasion of 'Lathar' festival.
Arsing	Memorial stone erected in Grave Yard

Asambor	Part of 'Kuddara' (spade)
Asannada	Small honey
Asandale-first menstration.	Pregnant
Asol	Arida Leaf cup
Asong	Bitter
Asongnai	Solid waste
Ayangdan	Bees
Ayyaljang layyakob	Chinna Roju (1st. Small day). The day on which first phase of death ceremony starts.
Ayo	Fish
<u>B</u>	
Bansu	
Banum-sur	'Kosimi' fruit
Baradam	'Putta Kokkulu' (Mushrooms)
Baro	'Bodandan' leaves
Baru	Noolu teegalu (A kind of Creeper)
Begada	Shifting (Podu) cultivation
Benta or Veta	Separation from main family after marriage
Bernia-sal-dinna	Hunting
Bisotta	Conversation liquor day
Boar	Seed bed
Bodom	Big honey
Bombukayalu	Rows of houses
Bonam	Goat's elementary canal wrapped around an explosive used for attracting wild animals while hunting
Bong-sang	Ritual food either vegetarian or non-vegetarian cooked for offering to the deity.
Bongra	A wooden hallow to water the soil.
Bongthil	Flough with draught animals
Boorju	Buffaloe
Bero	A kind of wood
Boy	Hoe
Bubbuda	Wild cat
	Beads

Budar	Yoke with hanging slings for bringing water pots.
Burrai	'Korrалу' (One variety of small grain)
Burroi Korrawal	'Torra Kotha' (Korra grain first eating ceremony)
Buti	'Chedu Dumpa' (A variety of tuber)
Buyya or Boyya	Headman of the Bhima Savaras.

C

Chigmar/Chitamara	The hereditary corpse bearer
Chillanginjalu	Intoxicating plant seeds used by the Savaras for stupifying fish
Chiya	Funeral pyre.

D

Dalli	Bamboo plate
Danda	Bride price in case of elopement marriages
Dandaboi	Elopement with a married woman
Dangu	A stick for stirring powder while cooking
Dasarapit	'Dasakukkulu' (one type of mushroom)
Dasari	One who fixes the auspicious day for starting any work.
Dhumul	A kind of bird
Dimdenjele	Oblation prepared out of buffalo's meat
Dingalba	Mohua gruel
Dingdengboi	Marriage by elopement
Dingdon	Ceremonial food cooked out of rice in 'Guar' ceremony.
Diyasung	Sleeping place.
Dobuvapit	'Inda kukkulu' (A variety of Mushroom)
Doldipetka	A variety of tuber
Doppalu	Leaf plates
Dulaisar	Poor people

Dumpa Theega	Wild flowers out of which a garland is prepared.
Dunge	Dukka beans
<u>E</u>	
Elda	(Komarangi) A variety of fruit
Emsa	Plough share
Endarajan	Brinjai
Enjum	Axe
Erathethel	An artifact for removing the cover of the castor seed.
Erralme	Oil extractor
Ertum	Plough
<u>G</u>	
Gado	'Arika theega' (A type of creeper)
Gade	Teeka Kayalu (fruit)
Gaila	Mud work
Gaina	Waist band
Gamang	A social headman who assists in arranging marriages.
Gamsa	Dhoti
Gandamboi	Widow re-marriage
Ganga	'Sama' (A type of small millet)
Ganjiya	Bag for carrying clay balls used in pellet bow
Gannaru	House warming ceremony
Gante	A type of small millet (Holcus Spicatus)
Ganu	'Kandamulam' (A variety of tuber)
Ganugai	'Chilagadi Dumpalu' (A variety of tuber cultivated in the backyards)
Genjude	Gruel
Gidingloi	'Jeedi pikkalu' (Cashew nuts)
Gijiji (Kidithe)	An implement used for weeding and cutting
Goddalamma	Savara Axe Goddess
Gorjung	Settlement of Village
Guar	A ceremony to propitiate the de-
Gudi	A type of bird

Gudissa	Small clay balls used in pellet bow
Gudissa-nyenga	A pellet bow
Gudu	A fishing basket made of bamboo reeds
Gunapam	Corw-bar
Gurod	'Gurim' or Gourd leaves
Guttam	A wooden hammer
Gusada	Name of the village deity
Gussara	Transplantation

H

Harri	Black monkey
Iddeet-Halan/Idbesung	Painting or design on the wall drawn in honour of the dead to which liquor and oblations are offered on festive occasions.

J

Ja	Snake
Jakari	Savara deity like Durga of the Hindu Pantheon
Jalla	Net
Janid	Method of using sticky gums in catching birds
Jano	Broomstick
Janode	Cattle tied in bunches for trampling paddy and other crops for harvesting.
Jatan	Gingelly
Jari	Brass utensil for carrying water and Mohua liquor
Jarijeena	Dhoti
Jeekodi	A cloth cradle hanging across the shoulders to carry the child
Jigid	Sticky paste prepared by boiling the ooze from pippal tree

Jojongi
Jonna
Jun-jun-boi jinna

Male ancestor
Jowar
(Escort-bride-day), the last
stage of marriage.

K

Kadosi
Kadio
Kadu
Kadratalu
Kakadum
Kaka
Kambagur
Kamsinjoda
Kamso
Kansoo
Kandi Kotha
Kandranga
Kandrinyu Kaseen
Kanteesi
Kante
Kanter
Kamu
Karanja
Karo
Karukaryo
Karugeda
Kascem
Kattoi
Kayading or Dadding
Kilajan
Killayolam
Kimme
Kina

Wooden arrow
A type of seed whose powder is
used for stupifying the fish
Bangles
Mamools
A variety of bird
Crow
Palm fruits
Partridges
Bear
Pig
A ceremony connected with the
first eating of Redgram
Boar
Wild cock
Parimiti fruit
Liquor pot
A jug
Shaving razor
Kagu oil
Monkey
Angling rod
Wild buffalo
Fowl
Owl
Funeral music
Gourd
Gourd leaves
Goat
Tiger

Kinapir	Celebration of individual families to invoke the dead
Kinarsung	'Illarikam' (Marriage by service)
Kinav	Crabs
Kindoo	Log
Kinta	Banana
Kintalo	Cremation ground
Kinterol	A pot for serving the food
Kisar Kuy	Hyena
Kitsov	Dog
Kitteda	Castor
Kittedamme	Castor Oil
Kodem	Pumpkin leaves
Koda	A type of crow
Kode	Hadder
Kodemkoru	Gorinka (Gracula Indica)
Kondem Kotha	A ceremony connected with the first eating of 'Kondem' grain.
Kondi	A small knife for hunting usually carried in the waist band by the Savara male.
Konki boregi	Hoe-cum-digging stick for dibbling Seeds in Podu fields.
Konthem	Gourd shell
Kopal	Adda leaf cup
Korra	'Gante' (Holcus spicatus)
Korra Kotha	First eating ceremony connected with a kind of small millet called 'Korralu'
Karukuryo	'Galam' (Fishing rod)
Korugath	Neredu fruits
Kov	Gourd bottle
Kuda	Hearth
Kuddara	Spade
Kuddalabor	A bamboo shaft with one curved end and used in making hoe-cum-digging stick (Konki-boregi)
Kudan	Village religious functionary of the Savaras who officiates in social ceremonies and native treatments.

Kukkur	Pigeon
Kullu	Fox
Kulban	Wandering spirit of the deceased
Kulu	Turtle
Kuntunur	Bamboo tube with one end open used for storing vegetable seed.
Kurgapit	Neredu Kukkulu (A variety of Mushroom)
Kurivola	Drumstick leaves
Kusto	Horse

L

Labu	Spoon for frying vegetables
Labo	Soil
Labonel	A pounding stone fixed in the floor of the house
Lakkisarpit	'Nookalu Kukkulu' (One variety of Mushroom)
Lanuva	A basket placed in between split spikes of a bamboo in which eggs are kept for breeding.
Limmatha	Neem stick
Loddalu	Hill deities
Lohar or Luar	Black smith
Loibi	Earth-work
Loisi	Earth worm
Lon	Anumulu (A variety of pulses)
Lono	A ^{curved} straight and pointed iron piece attached to the hoe-cum-digging stick
Losung	Place for keeping the hill deities
Luva	Snares
Luvangur	Fig fruits

M

Mado	Corpse
Mado thambereta	The four corpse bearers who actually carry the Mado to the funeral place.

Maganali	Compensation paid to the deserted husband by new husband.
Mamidi Kotha	A festival connected with the first eating of mango fruits;
Mana	Peacock
Mane	A basket to throw away the waste
Mangadalsai	Three pots of liquor and a bundle composed of as many arrows as there are male members in the girl's family
Manli	Oil lamp
Margidi	Gona Theegalu (Creeper)
Marsa	Donda Theegalu (Creeper)
Manda	Sheep
Murega	Regu fruit
<u>N</u>	
Nolla	Agricultural implement used in wet land cultivation
Nyenga	Bow
<u>O</u>	
Olla	Rare dog
Onderjing	Toes
Ondersing	Fingers
Onal Ondri	Mortar and Pestle
<u>P</u>	
Palaka	Small baskets
Palleki	A vessel to carry rice
Palleru Theega	Wild flowers out of which a garland is prepared on 'Lathar' festival
Pallunamisuda	Vellulli (Garlic)
Pander	Rabbit
Pander Benta	Rabbit hunting
Pandra Kola	A bamboo with an iron hook at one end

Pang-sal-dinna	Carry-liquor-day (Stage IV in marriage)
Pankui	Marriage by negotiation
Pappu	Seeds
Para	Spade
Paramanam	Sweet prepared out of bamboo sprouts
Paro	Palleru Theega (A type of creeper)
Parov	Bellika Theega (A type of creeper)
Pattili	Earthen pot for cooking rice
Pedam	Sickle
Perathethel	Wooden hammer with a hollow head used to break the shell of castor seed
Pergda	Antelope
Petaka	'Pulidumpalu' (A type of tuber)
Pethadakka	Bird hunting
Podale	Assistant to 'Buyya'
Punniya	Full-moon
Punu	Paddy sprout
Puradan	Life spirit
Pussi-boi-sal-dinna	Stage 6 in marriage negotiations when the day is fixed.

R

Ra	Elephant
Rallu	'Adda' fibre
Rabana	Turban kept on the memorial stones
Rado	Loda kkalu
Rago	Redgram
Ramang	Pet cat
Rampotu	Vulture
Ranany	A forked bamboo used as cloth hanger
Rangom	Yoke
Ranol	Wooden pounding block
Ranota	A shirt or a Banian
Ranisider	Grinding stone
Ranuva	A bamboo implement holder
Rarraldeddu	Turbaa

Renku
Reenku
Renkadana Kurrang

Rerathelda
Rerede

Cake
Rice
A type of bark which is used for
stupifying fish
Wooden needle
Arranging of the hair in a knot
in the neck region by Savara men.

S

Saarmer
Sadur

Sala
Salpam
Sambibor

Sanar
Sanuru
Sangsongda
Sargiyapit

Sarugay
Sarov
Satuva
Seku
Ser-am-dinna

Serosenam
Simangsalan
Sindgur
Sindinerpit

Sindsalan
Sinkung Dam

Solla
Sondi

Early morning
A rectangular wooden plank used
for levelling the fields
Fishing
Jeelugu (Caryota)
A flat and sharpened iron piece
fixed to the straight end of the
hoe-cum-digging stick
Bamboo comb
Rain hat stitched with leaves
Turmeric water
'Gaggelan Kokkulu' (A type of
Mushroom)
Sara Kanda (A type of tuber)
Paddy cultivation
Wooden spoon
Hibiscus cannabinus
Thrust-arrow day. Stage I in
marriage
Ground nut
Palmyrrah Toddy
Date fruits
'Ethaku Kukkulu' (A type of date
mushroom)
Date toddy
Next day after the death when
auspicious day for the performance
of first stage of death ceremony
'small day' is fixed.
A small bamboo measure
Cots

Sung
Sonkaya
Sov
Sudruk-Thodo
Surassang
Susuna

House
Dabba fruit
Chillies
Large baskets
Honey combs
Jalapa fibre

II

Tabdengam
Tabagur
Tabang
Takkod-sil-dina

Taran
Tarangdisay and Tamunsay
Taren
Tarival
Tarropit

Teejing
Teetebom
Therengthu
Thien'shel
Thiri
Thiyee
Thirana Kurraang

Thoda
Thogalne bentha
Thinkidi
Thinkis
Thungda
Thumang
Titigur
Tinel
Toge

Honey collection
Bamboo seeds
Veduru muvva (Tender bamboo shoots)
The final instalment liquor dowry
(Stage 5th in marriage)
'Jaru Mamkidi' Mango fruit
Variety of redgram
Thunmika fruit
Thunmika fruit
'Indva Kukkulu' (A variety of mushrooms)
Weeding
Tamarind seeds
Hunting in the night
Basket making
Fish collecting bamboo baskets
Lice
Intoxicating bark used by the
Savaras for stupifying fish
Mohuva fruits
Hunting here in the nights
Honey collected from ant hills
Ant Hills
'Ambali' (Gruel)
'Nara Theega' (A type of cream)
Tamarind fruits
Circular thrashing ground
Fire intended for lighting the
funeral pyre

Toginajameti	One who carries fire meant for lighting the funeral pyre
Torai	Witch craft
Tudame	Mahuva oil
Tulba	'Kasateegalu' (Creeper)
<u>U</u>	
Ulaiboi	Marriage by exchange
Uaid	Winnow
Urumgijampit	Veduru Kukkulu (One variety of bamboo mushroom)
Unuku	Palm fibre
<u>V</u>	
Vandarayalu	'Peniteegalu' (A kind of creeper)
Vanju	'Ravi' tree (Ficus Religiosa)
Volla	Wild dog
Volijang	'Cheedi' fruit
Vosenke	Spade work
Voyyar	Winnowing fan
Vuda	Mango
Vurbongde	'Chilleru' leaves
<u>Y</u>	
Yuyuboi	Small pox
